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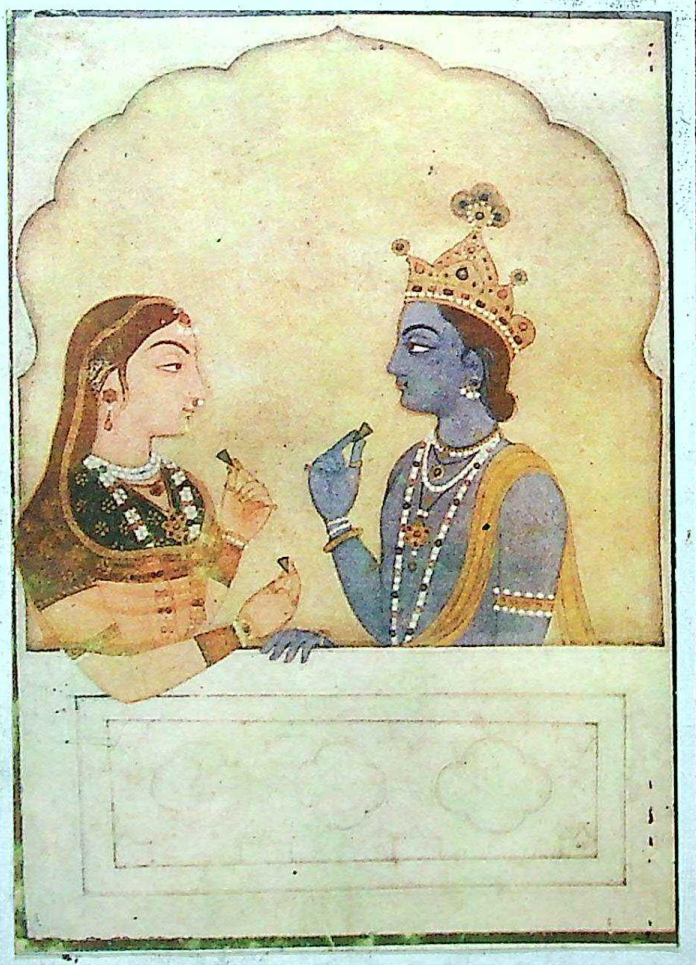

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RUPAM

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Edited by

ORDHENDRA C. GANGOLY

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I.—A HINDU RELIEF FROM A JAINA TEMPLE.

THERE is a story in the *Vishnu purana* of a powerful demon-king named Hiranya-Kashipu who by merits in another life had acquired a boon that he will not meet death in the hand of God, man, or animal. As a deity or an *asura* (demon) he was by his very birth the enemy of the gods (the *suras*). Having secured by his boon immunity from all created beings, he started a career of oppression not sparing his son Prahlâda, who was a faithful follower of Lord Vishnu whom Hiranya-kashipu hated with all his heart. His son having asserted that his god existed everywhere, he was asked if he existed in the pillar of the hall where the demon-king was holding his assembly. Prahlâda assented and the demon-king challenged the deity exclaiming—if he was in the pillar let him come forth and work his will. Vishnu, to honour the assertion of the faithful Prahlâda—sprang from the pillar—and remembering the boon that gave him security, assumed a form that was neither god, man nor beast—the *nara-sinha* or the man-lion incarnation—and killed him by tearing out his entrails. The story is also used to illustrate another phase of Hindu religious ideas. It has been laid down that whoever worships the divinity be it in terms of hatred or of love, shall attain salvation. The demon-king had thought of Vishnu all his life through his hate and the divinity did not deny him salvation.

Such is the story which is translated plastically in a remarkably composed marble relief which is reproduced in the frontispiece. The *nara-sinha* and the demon-king are pictured in a complicated mortal embrace which gives the pair a physical as well as a spiritual unity from which it is difficult at first to disentangle the figures of two distinct individuals. They combine and coalesce, as it were, to spell out a highly organised design for an intricate monogram. The group itself is placed within the halo of a sixteen-petalled lotus spread in a complete circle rich in its ritualistic symbolism. The circle assists at a singular dramatic effect, for it has no top nor base—and one is perplexed for a moment to discover which figure is uppermost and who is the winner in the duel—the demon or its slayer. One of the 'gandharva mithunas' (bird-man couples) in the four corners is deliberately placed over the head of Hiranya-Kashipu, to suggest, to the unwary, that it is the top of the picture. But the sculptor has given the right key in the position of the hand touching the head of the *nara-sinha*, which tells you which is the right crown of the picture and one immediately realises with a pleasant surprise, that the vanquished figure is lying prostrate in a dramatic pose, with his head skilfully placed on the left foot of the Divine one who kills the king's body to give him salvation. In the symbolic language of Indian religious lore, the ambition of the faithful to receive salvation is "to find his refuge in the feet of the divine." This symbolism is pictorially realised with literal faithfulness without hampering the plastic expression. The group and all its parts are skilfully laid within a circle, the line of which one can easily follow round the points at which the various projecting elements of the composition touch the circumference. It is very well known to artists and designers how difficult is the task to fill in a circular space, as there is a natural inclination of all the lines placed within it to converge towards the centre. This is very skilfully avoided, here, by three emphatic lines which radiate from the centre, two of which are made up of the two hands of the man-lion joining near the breast which is also reached by the third line of the left thigh of the prostrate figure. These three lines break up the circle into three segments. In contrast to these radiating lines,—there are a series of converging lines offered by the petals of the lotus which make towards the centre. Thus a rhythm is evolved out of the ebb and flow of two distinct series of lines—one of centrifugal and the other of centripetal motion. These help to invest the composition with a quality of movement which is quite independent of the action of the fighting figures. The impact of the combatants find an echo in the impact of the lines—which balance each other in an unexpected harmony.

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There is one other point as to the fidelity of the picture to the text of the story. The boon which gave the demon-king immunity had provided that he shall not see death through any human or divine weapon. The mace (*gada*) and the wheel (*chakra*) the two distinctive weapons of Vishnu are debarred from taking any part in the quelling—they perform therefore an ornamental rather than any useful function. The nails of the vanquisher dig deep into the navel of the impious king and tear up his entrails. For sheer terrifying power, or as Elie Faure has called—"the grandiose bestiality," this virile relief puts to shade the classic "shriek in marble" with which we are familiar in the Greek Laocoon. The version of the story will undoubtedly recall the earlier and somewhat more austere and dramatic presentation of the same theme in the caves of Elora (*vide* Selected Examples of Indian Art, Plate XXXVI). The figures here are knit together in an intensely terse and concentrated pattern not achieved in the more spatial and restrained and less crowded composition at the Elora Temple. It is difficult to say if the carvers of these two panels had worked out the identical text of the story. In the Elora panel the man-lion has eight hands, while he is given sixteen in the present version. This multiplicity of hands has rather handicapped the presentation of the principal figure. The artist has been hard put to it in assigning distinct poses and functions to the sixteen hands. One of the hands are kept busy in tearing up the body from the navel, the two legs are attended to by a pair of hands. One of the hands of the king flourishing a dagger is grasped by one hand and the other hand of the king, missing, must have occupied another hand of the vanquisher. Two hands carry the mace and the wheel. One of the upper right hand bespeaks the *abhaya-mudra*—the reassuring gesture—while the topmost hand is made to take a pose the significance of which is not quite clear.

But the most curiously interesting feature of this panel is derived from its provenance. It does not belong to any Brahminical temple—but actually forms part of a Jaina temple—the famous monument of Vital Shah at Mount Abu. It is one of the ceiling pieces over one of the aisles of the Northern corridor of this temple. The occurrence of an essentially Brahminical legend within the very stronghold of the Jain sects is not easy to explain. Though some of the Brahminical deities such as Indra, etc., have been adopted in Jaina iconography—any legends of the Hindu myths, Saivaite or Vaishnavaite are not recognised in the Jaina scriptures. Though the two faiths Brahminic Hinduism and Jainism have lived for sometime in peace and amity, side by side, particularly, in Rajputana, where members of the same family are known to have professed the two different faiths (one of the Gupta kings having had a Jaina wife), yet the persecution of the one sect by the other is not wholly unknown. And a very significant aphorism, attributed to Shankara is reminiscent of an ugly conflict between the two faiths: "Even a man about to be devoured by a tiger should not take shelter in a Jain temple" ("Vyaghrena khadyamanapi na gachhed Jaina mandiram"). At the date of the panel which takes its chronology from the construction of the temples (*viz.*, 1031 A.D.) all conflicts between the adherents of the Brahminic and the Jaina faith must be taken to have disappeared. There is no other illustration of a purely Brahminic theme in any of the numerous panels and reliefs at the Jaina temples at Mount Abu—and the presence of this singular Brahminical picture does call for a satisfactory explanation which we hope some of our readers may be able to furnish.

II.—THE CALCUTTA SCHOOL OF PAINTING.*

By ANDREE KARPELES.

THE French public who in 1914 went in crowds to the Grand Palais to admire the works of Abanindra Nath Tagore and of his disciples baptised in a body this group of artists under a name which will survive—"L'Ecole de

* Translated for the writer from the original French article, by Mr. Gurudas Sirkar.

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Calcutta" or the Calcutta School of Painters.

It will be the glory of that school of having not only grouped together in a nucleus a number of interesting artists but also of having contributed greatly to the Renaissance of India and of belying the prediction of Maurice Maindron who stated at the end of his volume on Indian Art: "This art will never be resuscitated." Since the English conquest the decadence of Hindu art was in fact inevitable. Various hetrogeneous influences had given birth to some hybrid and spurious productions coming out of the "Schools of Art" where they imposed on students merely third class European *ponces*. The great frescoes of Ajanta, the exquisite paintings of the Moghul Epoch were forgotten, the poetry in the daily life of India an inexhaustible source of inspiration—was ignored—nay even despised and scorned, and the students were made to copy the advertisement of Pear's Soap or some print or other as was to be seen in our own Provincial Schools in France before the reform in the teaching of drawing.

What Gaston Quenioux(1) has done in France for the primary teaching of design, E. B. Havell(2) did in India for the superior teaching of the Fine Arts. The European reader who would desire to know about the beginning of this Renaissance and authenticate the rapidity of its progress must read Havell's article referring thereto(3) of which some lines—so just and characteristic in themselves—are quoted here. "We have succeeded in persuading educated Indians that they have no Art of their own, though evidences of its existence are many and great, indeed very much more extensive than those of British Art. Twenty-four years ago I was sent out to India to instruct Indians in Art, and having instructed them, and myself to the best of my ability, I returned filled with amazement at the insularity of the Anglo-Saxon mind, which has taken more than a century to discover that we have far more to learn from India in Art, than India has to learn from Europe, etc." E. B. Havell did not meet with at first from Young India the support necessary to encourage him in the struggle, but Abanindra Nath Tagore understood him at once and became very soon the master of the whole movement. His genius was an inspiration for all those who were groping towards the light for which they awaited. Thus Bengal became the cradle of an artistic Renaissance in India and thus did the 'Calcutta School' take its birth.

Europe, which was ignorant of all the turmoil under the apparent passivity of India, could well believe in the sinister prediction of Maindron. For the bulk of cultured Europeans, India had a past which was so rich that artists and savants could indefinitely continue drawing upon it with profit, but India had no more any artist, poet or savant and even those who bowed down before its past did not hesitate to affirm that she had no future before her. And behold! One after another three events came to show to the world that the genius of India was not like that of Greece—an extinct fire—but on the contrary a fire always alive and bright which lay hid under the cinders. The immortal *Gitanjali* appeared in French, the researches of the savant Jagadis Chandra Bose commenced to be known and finally the painters of Calcutta sent for the first time their work to Europe for exhibition.

Now all those who believed in the mission of India—all those who turned their eyes towards her could repeat after Maxmuller with more emphasis than ever: "If one asked me under which sky the human spirit had most fully developed its most precious gifts and sounded to the most profound depths the grandest problems of life and found for some of them solutions which deserved to attract the admiration even of those who had studied Plato and Kant, I would indicate India. And if I was asked what literature would bring to us—to us Europeans almost exclusively nourished on the thoughts of

(1) Inspector-General of Teaching of Art, Author of Decorative Composition, Manual of Drawing, Drawing in Primary Schools, etc.

(2) The Author of Indian Architecture, the Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India, The Ideals of Indian Art, Basis for an Artistic and Industrial Revival in India.

(3) The Studio—15th July, 1908—Volume 44, No. 184.

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Greeks and Romans and of a Semitic race the necessary corrective for rendering inner life more perfect, more comprehensive and more universal—in one word more human —a life not only for this life but for a life transformed, eternal—once again I would indicate India."

If the exhibition of Calcutta painters was for most people a revelation it was also a subject of astonishment. Those who had never been there, get used to a false and superficial idea about India which is cherished and maintained by the works of most of the Orientalist painters. These depict only the exterior of India such as is seen by the tourists doing "Sight-seeing" on a soil which is sacred and which must not be trodden—even like the steps of some gigantic temple—except with veneration and respect. If the public do not find in the canvas painted in India the blue sky of Algeria, all the palm trees of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and colours having the splendour of gold—they are disappointed. Only Andre Chevrillon in his book "Dans l' Inde" ("In India") has known how to paint the fluidity of the sky of India where one finds grey, gold, and silver but rarely pure indigo.

As for the inner—the sacred and intimate life of India—nobody has yet revealed it to us. In the beginning the more sombre paintings of the Calcutta School astonished a public eager for stiff colouring and strong and violent impressions; they were too much in ignorance of all that these pictures conjured up—the cool half-light of the Zenana, twilights so fugitive and peculiar and above all Indian life itself, so religious and so profound. It was a revelation—as is at this moment the poet's romance—"The Home and the World."

It is difficult in France to form an idea of the evolution and progress of the School of Calcutta during these last few years. Since 1914 we had had under our notice only the reproductions published by the *Modern Review*—the difficulties of the period following the war having postponed the projected exhibition looked forward to by the Parisian public.

We desire to see the new works of the artists we have begun to love, and we would also like to know the new artists whose names have been added to the small phalanx of 1914. One comes across also some feminine names in the catalogues of annual exhibitions proving to Europe, which is so much unacquainted with these matters, that India is not the land of anti-feminism. What ideas it may be asked, would these reproductions suggest of themselves to the Europeans who look upon them with interest? At the very outset we notice that the disciples of Tagore are very much influenced by him and, consciously or unconsciously, carried away by their justifiable admiration for the master they express themselves like him with the same technique and the same means. This is what always happens when a strong personality puts himself at the head of a movement related to a particular school. This takes place unceasingly in France. In their praiseworthy love—prolific and beneficent as it is—the disciples often proceed too far. Among ourselves Cézanne has had a similar influence so much so, that the young painters of his time did not conceive of any other subject of their pictures except naively sketched shallow fruit-dishes with red and green apples on them. We know also of the influence of Rodin—his impress upon the young sculptors of his epoch—which even went so far as companionship and constant intercourse. In those days one saw only the *torsos* of women without head and arms, because the master often exposed to the public view rough-hewn unfinished outlines. Of the disciples of Eugéne Carriére none could detect that what became a mere formula with them was the result of a personal vision and of a conception that is accorded only to a single being to form and to entertain. It is necessary to read the "Letters and Writings" of Carriére in order to understand fully the influence which such an idealist could have upon his students—an influence which could bear comparison with that of Abanindra Nath Tagore upon his disciples. Like their master the pupils of Carriére suppressed all colours in their canvases. They swamped the contours of their figures in a misty cloud, vague and undefined, without having always as their basis and groundwork, the

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almost sculptural construction which characterised the work of that great painter. Are not the pupils of this Hindu master doing the same in the praiseworthy zeal so natural to neophytes ? Occasionally their pictures are very sombre—perhaps a little too sombre—without having however that mystery which always stands out prominently in the works of Tagore. Sometimes also (and is this a souvenir of certain English pictures ?) we find their paintings instead of being impregnated with a real and a veritable sentiment marked merely with a sentimentality of somewhat anecdotal character. Carried away by their enthusiasm and idealism—which disturb us so much the more that India is now in a grave and perilous moment of her history, these artists disdain the material side of the picture and hold only to abstract qualities : their work is not plastic enough—it inclines somewhat towards the literary. One cannot however lay this reproach at the door of Tagore nor can this be said of the old masters of India. It is so difficult to find the "Golden middle-path" as artists of all countries are well aware.

What is Art ? Tolstoy himself in the small book which bears this title has not been able to solve this mysterious problem. But it is more easy to give an answer to the question "What is painting ?" Painting is only a means adopted by artists of creating a kind of writing with the aid of pencils and colours. Painting is the art of rendering durable by means of an assemblage of lines and colours a fugitive impression. It is the art of materialising an idea by means of a decorative composition—a novel arabesque. In fine, it is a mysterious language which attempts to translate from another language still more mysterious and undefinable, what the outer world and the sense perceptions speak to the soul.

In France the present generation of painters suffer from an artistic education which is solely materialistic. The imaginative side has not been cultivated in them. The work in the Studio—done only in imitation of the model—has rendered the pupils slaves of nature, narrowed and cramped their field of work and atrophied their creative qualities. We in France had however like Abanindra Nath Tagore, one admirable person who wishing to remodel the School of Fine Arts preached emancipation and culture of imagination. This man was Lecoq de Boisbaudran. In spite of the interesting coterie of pupils that he had formed his methods did not survive him. Concerning Lecoq de Boisbaudran, Rodin has written "I understand only now the chance we had had in falling in the hands of such a professor ; the great part of what he has taught me still remains." The disciples of Tagore would thus speak of their master.

A translation of this book has appeared in English(4) but it is hardly probable that the work will be utilised in a country altogether unendowed with artistic sense—which has never produced artists of the greatest merit although it had so many authors of genius. In England there had been particularly in the domain of painting that momentary efflorescence of somewhat superficial portrait painters in the 18th Century, some good landscape painters besides, and here and there among contemporary artists who consented to study and live on the Continent, a few agreeable paintings. But there had never been any Rembrandt, never any Puvis de Chavannes. In England there had never been also any great Sculptor—a fact which is never met with among any other people—not even among the tribes of Africa(5). It is one of the victories of the School of Calcutta of having destroyed the mirage of an artistic education, possible as far as it was in England, and of having come to inculcate in young people the love and comprehension of the Arts of Ancient India.

Do the Bengali Artists understand and appreciate that they are in a privileged position? In Europe the so-called civilized life that we lead is so far removed from Nature that many of the artists suffer from its effects. We seldom see humanity in the nudity which is moving and beautiful. In the

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(4) Published by Macmillan in 1911 under the title : The Training of the Memory in Art.

(5) See the Book on Negro Art "Niger Plastic" of Carl Einstein (Kurt Wolff, Munich).

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studios a paid model comes to pose before students avidious of beauty. Alas! it is only an unclothed model—and not a nude being true to itself, free and unguarded in movements, passing with ease from one position to another under the protection of a light veil. Daily life in India abounds with spectacles full of eternal beauty that never take place under our eyes in Europe. The Calcutta School has not, however, yet given us the sculptor whose advent we are still awaiting—one who will fix for our joy the slightest gestures of Hindu women (the most perfect gestures of feminine grace) gestures which under the *sari* always assume such nobleness and grandeur.

Mahavalipuram, Ellora, Elephanta, Sanchi, prove to the world that India is the land of great sculptors. But in our impatience to greet new geniuses we are forgetting completely the fact that the Calcutta School has only made its *debut* and that it is still in the midst of a period full of reconstruction.

Very soon, no doubt, the art of the fresco-painter will revive and we expect to have some frescoists worthy of their predecessors of Bagh and Ajanta. This particular branch of art will help undoubtedly the artists of Bengal to brighten and clarify their palettes by obliging them to make use of pure tints as is observed in the naive paintings which decorate the walls at Benares and Udaypur—frescoes of which the vivid and lifelike tones sing out, as it were, aloud in the sunlight. The painting of frescoes will also take them out of the habits of cribbing and confining themselves within the safe limits of very small paintings. India being *par excellence* the land of great works—space is never wanting as is the case with us.

If the artists of Bengal are privileged persons and we have a right to expect from them great things in a sense both abstract and concrete—it is not merely because the material conditions are very favourable but it is above all on account of the master who has entirely consecrated to them his life and energies not only by his paintings but also by his lectures and literary contributions and is himself a constant example before them. This fact cannot be repeated too often. Those who at Paris have had the rare pleasure of seeing "The Last Journey" of A. N. Tagore will never forget the touching and profound symbolism of that small picture which has so much of grandeur. We are also reminded of that "Young girl dressing her hair"—of the simplicity and calm which emanates from the corner of the chamber so artfully indicated and from the clear profile standing out of the luminous and transparent back-ground of the picture. Without detracting in any way from the originality and the essentially Hindu character of the picture it seems to remind us of the most charming paintings of Chardin or of Vermeer de Delft. We have seen also "A storm at Puri;" it was only a small watercolour with a line of bright sand and in the distance the sombre sky and the threatening sea—but this was sufficient to suggest to us, all the tragedy that the unchained elements could hold in them in India.

Although one is less acquainted with the portraits of Tagore—he is nevertheless a great portrait painter—a psychologist and sincere withal. The profiles of Rabindra Nath Tagore and Coomaraswamy bear witness to this. With such a master and with disciples likewise gifted and full of ardour, the School of Calcutta will have its place in the history of Indian Art by the side of the Rajput School and the School of Kangra. A branch of decorative and popular Art has come to be subjoined to the exhibitions of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

What a similiarity there is between the efforts of the School of Calcutta and those of our own! we also desire to revive the forgotten arts, to renovate the *Art decoratif* and to bring about the rebirth of popular arts, and local industries. In France they have begun to do for the Breton broderies what Tagore has done in India for the Alponas for example, and it is a surprising thing that the old Breton designs sometimes bear a strange resemblance to old Hindu designs. In folk Art, people of all nations have spoken the same language. The Renaissance of these arts seem to be visible all over the world. If only this could help men to better understand each other!

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A French Poet who died very young(7) has written :

"O Venerable Asia, origin, and home of mankind ;
Search well the treasure lying in her ruins.
Mayhap from thy (very) thirst awaiting deliverance.
In her bottomless well stagnates the water divine."

In India the divine water no longer lies stagnant ; from one end of the country to the other, we now hear the sound of gushing springs.

(7) Henry Frank : author of "The Dance before the Arch."

III.—CLASSICAL MUSIC OF NORTHERN INDIA.

By DILIP KUMAR ROY.*

My object in undertaking the present pleasurable task is to try to the best of my ability to help my European friends to a proper adjustment of the perspective of Indian Music in the realm of the musical expression of mankind. The best musicians of our country have not as yet been alive to the importance of a closer understanding of India and the Occident through an acquaintance and appreciation of the musical ideas and aspirations of each other. And the handful of men who have realised the importance of such a rapproachement through music have been, unfortunately for us, quite innocent of the art. Some musician, however, must take it up. Consequently I felt it a kind of duty on my part to accept the kind invitation of the Women's International League for peace and freedom to read a paper on Classical Indian Music, with actual illustrations in the shape of a few specimens of the same. My object is only to try to give you a brief survey of our outlook on music in contradistinction to that of yours, that is to say so far as that can be achieved within the space of an hour and a half.

Europe, looking upon music naturally from her own standpoint, claims that the highest musical expression of humanity has so far been crystallised in harmony. It is undoubtedly true that the musical achievement of Europe has been great, in the direction of harmony, anyway. But before one can claim this achievement to be the loftiest in the domain of the musical expression of the human heart, it is proper, I think, that one should take account of the sum total of human achievements in the same direction. Otherwise any orientation in our conception of progress in any sphere whatsoever is an impossibility. As the horizon of knowledge extends further and further, new generalisations emerge and broader ones come into view,—sometimes rebutting, sometimes supplementing, sometimes comprehending the narrower. And I think that when we are in a position to take stock of the collective achievements in the artistic or social evolution of the entire humanity we are likely to find that the reliability of the highest claim of achievement of any particular people in any branch of activity is very questionable indeed. For among highly cultured peoples of the world at any rate the arrogation of absolute superiority by one in any art or social system is rarely, if at all, tenable. For in this, just as in any other question, for the matter of that, far too much depends on one's point of view, in fixing the desideratum. It is high time that we should realise that no nation or race is the elect of God. One can however help to knock the bottom out of this regrettable national or intellectual chauvinism only by contributing to the spread of the knowledge of facts concerning the cultural progress of the entire humanity. For this purpose what is necessary is merely the stating of facts exposing them to the light of truth. We must be agreeable to let them make their way as best as they may under the scrutinising but catholic survey of honest

* Read at Women's International League at Lugamo, Switzerland, in August, 1922.

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criticism. The subject of my present exposition is to adduce some in the realm of music, the knowledge of which just as that of any other art is such a great help for an accurate comprehension of the cultural aspirations of a people. So much by way of introduction.

I fear I must begin at once with the most difficult and characteristic feature of our melodic music. I mean I must at the very outset attempt a definition of the "raga." A "raga" has been very often erroneously translated by not only Europeans but Indians as well by the term *melody*. Now, what we in India understand when we denominate a particular melody such-and-such a *raga* is quite different from what in Europe is conveyed by the word 'melody.' The word 'melody' in Europe—means a succession of homophonic musical notes embodying a musical idea. A "raga" means much more and that much more is precisely what constitutes the life and soul of this musical term. Of course a "raga" must necessarily represent a melody in that it is not unmelodious, but it must not be exhausted in a melody pure and simple. It must transcend the latter. Though a "raga" in our music has a characteristic structure which is very definite and tangible to a *musically cultivated* Indian, it is very difficult to grasp its nature even for those of us who have not tried to study the same a little seriously. And to be able to differentiate between two kindred "ragas," is one of the most subtly difficult tasks not only to a connoisseur but to a good musician as well.

I have started with the statement that it is something *over and above* a simple melody. In India it seems that the people had, for some reason or other, taken it into their heads to sing or play particular tunes on particular occasions, ceremonies and seasons, with the result that they went on singing even different songs in the same particular tune (say the Raga Bhairabi) on similar occasions. Now it has happened that all these numerous songs sung, say in the Raga Bhairabi, developed a characteristic structure even though it varied widely enough—in the different songs and rhythms —in effect, savour, and sometimes even in the nature of the emotion evoked. These structures have been denominated the "ragas." This explanation, however, is not nearly so simple as it seems on the surface. The same "raga" embodied in different songs present very often different visages, *e.g.*, in *khambaj bhajan* or a *khambaj ekṭala*.

Here no lover of music who is a little familiar with classical Indian music will find any difficulty to place the two songs in the category of the same "raga," however unlike they might seem to anybody not versed in the idea of the Raga-music. In Europe solo-music has not developed in this way. There might undoubtedly be more songs than one sung in the same melody. But then they will be sung in very nearly the same way which will preclude the possibility of each of these melodies gaining almost an unlimited elasticity of expression and variety and yet remaining at once recognisable to an expert even when the improvisations, rhythyms and emotions produced are widely different. In the whole of North India hundreds and thousands songs are sung by different artistes in each and every one of the more popular "ragas" such as *Bhairabi, Khambaj, Sindhu, Behag, Iman*, etc., in various moods and rhythms as well as on various occasions. Nevertheless any connoisseur will be able to tell at once when two or more different songs with their almost infinite variety and richness of improvisation belong to the same "raga," where one not similarly trained will hardly trace any resemblance at all. This is very remarkable as exhibiting the growth of a wonderfully original musical idea testifying to the achievement of a high level of musical culture in the realisation of the musical aspirations of a people. I will give one more illustration showing how a difference in rhythm contributes to mask the character of a "raga," that is to say to anyone who is not initiated into the Raga music.

The most wonderful feature in the evolution of a "raga" is its potentiality for almost infinite variety within the prescribed limits demanded for its characteristic structure. Take for instance the "Raga Iman Kalyan," of which the scale is C D E F F G A B. A master singer in India will go on singing song after song with these notes—and none others—generally not using more

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than two octaves, in different rhythms and with different improvisations and sometimes producing altogether different emotional effect on the mind without once overstepping the limits prescribed by the structure of the "raga" and without even allowing his resources for subtle variety to go dry. To an European these subtle improvisations and variations might seem at times a little monotonous when two or more songs are sung elaborately enough in the same "raga." But then to him all these nuances do not mean anything as his ear is not trained to derive a truly ecstatic joy from all this finesse —which however means a world to us. However, inasmuch as any development of the faculty of deriving inspiration from the subtle and the fine bespeaks evolution of our artistic susceptibility, it follows that this keen enjoyment derived from the perception of fine distinctions denotes a state of great asthetic development. And as a matter of fact we in India are used to judge the greatness of a musician by the subtle variety and the intensity of musical feeling which he or she can evoke. A singer of ordinary merit can hardly sing a "raga" for more than, say, four or five minutes without repeating himself. But I have heard a great songstress sing only one line of a song—the rest of which she happened to have forgotten—for more than twenty minutes without having exhausted her fund of original and beautiful improvisations, keeping us all the while in an enchanted dreamland as it were. With a master singer in India it is almost always the case that he or she would go on singing a song of but a few lines for quite an incredible length of time improvising with a wonderful richness of conception on the fundamental theme of the "raga," holding the audience entranced as it were, oblivious of the passage of time. In European vocal music improvisation does not play such an important rôle in the bringing out of the musical idea of the artist. This difference in the two outlooks on music has resulted in this that while in Indian music there is as much scope for the singer to infuse his originality and individuality into the composition he executes as the composer himself; in the West, the greatest credit is always given to the composer whose name alone is perpetuated, the singer's place being generally but of secondary importance. I do not mean that in the West the executionist gets no credit whatsoever, I only want to point out that in India a great executionist is often as much of a composer in the composition he interprets as the original composer of the "raga." This is all the more accentuated by the fact that in India a "raga" is hardly ever sung twice in the same way, the singer enjoying a great liberty of original improvisation within certain limits.

Now this brings into relief as it were another delicate and interesting point with regard to the Indian ideal of vocal music in contradistinction to that of the West. As a matter of fact in the West the skill of a singer depends more on the richness of his voice and his faithful rendering of the poetical idea of the song itself, through the vehicle of music than on his power of exposition of the potentiality of the melody proper. Thus while in Europe the words of the songs play a very prominent part in the excitation of the musical feeling, with us in India words are, at best, of secondary importance in our classical music, being mostly content to remain listlessly in the background. Sometimes they hardly lend themselves at all to the contribution of the musical feeling evoked. The whole idea of the singer is to explore to the best of his musical inspiration the unexplored depths of the "raga" itself. To my thinking this is quite *commeilfaut*, that is from our viewpoint of music, of course. For we regard the appeal of the fundamental musical idea far too precious to be suffered to risk an overlapping by a potent appeal of the words of the song. And as a natural consequence one might almost say that we rather welcome as it were a commonplace nature of the wording, unconsciously though it be, it being an instinctive conviction that much too great a demand on us by the poetical beauty of the song is more likely to hamper than help the musical idea of the "raga" itself. For a beautiful poetical conception of a particular song almost always usurps a substantial part of one's attention thereby preventing a thorough losing of oneself in the rich exposition of the "raga" proper. I do not mean to insinuate that in such a case

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the joy cannot be great, but I say this that here the joy accruing is less musical than poetical. It might now be very pertinently asked that if words must needs always detract from pure musical enjoyment, be it ever so little, why then have them at all? We do not fight shy of such an extreme but logical question. The answer is that in our highest music words are *not regarded as necessary at all.* This is testified to by the fact that we regard the quintessence of the "ragas" as contained in an exposition of the same untrammelled by words or rhythm —which is known as "*alapa.*" "*Alapa*" is really the most exhaustive exposition possible of the pure "raga" sung with only meaningless words such as ta, na, da, nain, tom, teri, etc. Thus before beginning a particular "raga" a classical singer will always sing the "*alapa*" for a long time and every real lover of music will testify to the fact that it is almost always more delightful than the song itself. This circumstance is all the more remarkable by reason of its involving a real and wide difference of our ideal of vocal music from that of Europe. To an European audience this might seem so fantastic that I should not be surprised if he were to put to me the question "why then sing at all? Why not simply play an instrument instead?" The answer is, that one sings not because of an argued conviction of its advisability but because one cannot help. I venture to suggest that the mere fact of our ability to give a partial expression to our thoughts and sentiments through the vehicle of words *does not* serve to prove that we must always make use of the same *even* in music to develop the richest effect of the latter. The proof of the pudding is in the eating—and that not very unjustifiably either. If one finds that one does derive the greatest amount of joy through an exposition of the "raga" proper unhampered by any persecution of words, one has got to accept it as a concrete fact of our æsthetic enjoyment and then build theories on the same. It is not proper, I think, to start with broad general theories such as, "Human power of speech makes it incumbent on us to continue speaking even in a Song" and then try to suit the facts to this theory. Real lovers of music in India have unanimously felt that the "alapa" denotes the highest water-mark reached so far by our musical culture and our quest after the beautiful in the realm of music—affording as it does the most intense musical joy. We must accept this verdict as a *fact* of our musical experience so far, because musical enjoyment is not derived from any logical syllogism but from the thrill of our actual perceptions. Let me not however be misunderstood. I do not mean that words never play any important part in our music. (For there are many other classes of music such as Kirtan or love songs, Baul or mystic songs, Bhajan or devotional songs, Ghazl or Persian love songs, modern Bengali songs, various kinds of folk songs, etc., in which the words undoubtedly play a great part.) All I want to convey is that somehow or other the real lovers of music in our country have had always an idea that our highest music, namely, classical Hindoostani Music at its best is quite independent of words for its potent appeal, and that it is in this appeal and not in the appeal of the music reinforced by the colouring of the words that the truest and purest musical enjoyment is to be sought.

Nevertheless the ideal of the Raga-music has gone a little too far, to my thinking, in its pretension of setting up a standard of pure artistic appreciation of our classical "ragas." For this has tended to depreciate a little too much the joy derived from the sweetness pure and simple of musical expression. In India the exposition of a "raga" being rightfully considered as the greatest test of the merits of a musician, there are many who look upon the gift of a sweet or rich voice to be but of minor importance. This is a fact. Many a singer's name has been handed down to us, who had been highly honored in his life-time notwithstanding a bad voice. There are still many who would flock to hear a great singer with anything but a glorious voice, though the number of such singers has appreciably diminished of late years. Some attribute it to the growth in recent years of a popular or theatrical music sung by singers with a melodious voice. Others put it down to an increased struggle for existence which does not leave one much leisure for idealistic æsthetic enjoyment. But the real cause lies

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much deeper down. It consists in a gradual realisation by the people that the very highest musical art does not depend on the exposition of the "raga" alone. Sweetness of voice is also a part and parcel of the art inasmuch as it gives unquestionable joy. To clarify our ideas on this point it is necessary to sift two apparently contradictory sets of facts which, I think, I should take the liberty of enumerating at some length, as they will help to throw a further light on our outlook on music. One of these facts is that musically trained people do often derive great joy from the classical songs even when the voice of the singer is anything but pleasant. The other fact is that a little less musically cultivated people do not respond to the same, though they would flock in great numbers to hear a classical singer with a sweet voice. Now the assured joy of the former class may be the natural consequence of our ideal of music, *viz.*, that the soul of the higher music lies in the interpretation of the "raga" and not in the agreeableness of its immediate appeal to the ear. But if this point of view were true then it would mean—as I have pointed out—that our music at its highest æsthetic purity will be, at least for a long time to come, a source of gratification to the initiated few only. That need not, however, necessarily mean the very nature of the ideal of art must always make it the monopoly of a handful, as we the privileged few have so far egoistically asserted. For in a different order of society as advocated by the idealists it is more than conceivable that almost everybody will be enabled, through a proper amount of leisure, guidance and effort, to attain to that level of culture which will equip him at least to appreciate if not to create great art. But even if it be laid down as an hypothesis that without the attainment of this level of culture no art in its purest available form can be appreciated, then it would follow that the majority must perforce, be excluded from the pure æsthetic enjoyment,—at least till the advent of such an order of society as now exists only in the dreams of the aforesaid idealists. Such a reflection is, indeed, anything but stimulating to the artist. Nay, it is even depressing. For it is but an ill-masked attempt to reconcile him to the sad fact of life that our highest and purest art must, at least for some time to come, be content with the appreciation of the privileged few only. But since in the present state of society there are far too many things which are painful and unjust, the very pessimistic nature of such a proposition need not, I think, make it necessarily untrue. What we are concerned with here is a search for truth in our ideal of art. If such an ideal seems unjust we have to scrutinise if it is unjust in its very nature or because of an undesirable order of society. If the latter should be the real cause of this seeming egoism of art, then the solution would not consist in a dwarfing of the art itself for the immediate comprehension of the majority, as the Tolstoyan will say. It would on the contrary lie in a radical amelioration of society which would conduce to the spread of culture among the many instead of among the few, as it obtains today. If on the other hand such an outlook on art is really based on a sort of assumed superiority of the few over the many, then it is the ideal itself which is at fault. Now I have reasons to fear that such has been very often the case with at least that class of our connoisseurs who condemns the enthusiasm of the admirers of a sweet classical singer as pseudo-admiration of art. For, I think, this condemnation springs as much from an unconscious cultural arrogance as from the real joy they derive from the exposition of the Raga-music. But on the other hand it is also true that this 'pure joy' or 'abstract' enjoyment of the latter kind is far too real to be dismissed with a wave of the hand as something ego-centric. It has an undoubted æsthetic value. For no pure joy can be ignored as valueless however confined to the few it may be. But conceding to these lovers of music all the credit they deserve for their detached and disinterested love of pure art, I should like to point out that this point of view of an ideal of art is a little too one-sided to be sound in the real perspective of music as an expression of the beautiful in the human soul. For even then very few connoisseurs will be able to deny that just as their enjoyment of an exposition of an intricate "raga" is too real to be ignored, so also the fact of their deriving still greater joy

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from an exposition of the same "raga" with a sweet and rich voice has got to be taken cognizance of before a proper adjustment of our outlook on music can emerge, or stated as a simple generalisation it comes to this that an art which enchains the initiated and the uninitiated alike is surely greater and loftier than one which reckons only with one of these two classes of audience. Consequently one cannot help thinking that, in going to set up a too high standard of artistic appreciation, we have sometimes suffered from a little loss of perspective in our ideal of art as is concretely manifested by the circumstance that sweet singers and players have often unjustly suffered in our estimation for them that very sweetness of exposition which ought, on the contrary, to have contributed to their reputation as artists. That is why the unfortunate songstresses of our country, who are often very great artists indeed, are sweepingly spoken of with contempt by musicians and connoisseurs alike.

On the other hand it may be pointed out that the West has also suffered from a similar loss of perspective in the ideal of vocal music in the other direction; in that the Western exponent attaches a far too great an importance on the culture of a rich voice to give effect to a musical idea. It is next to impossible for a singer in Europe to be famous if he or she happens to have an unattractive voice, no matter however great an artist he or she might be. Even after conceding that a sweet voice is a distinct acquisition from the point of view of art as well, we cannot but think that the West have set a deal too much store by the importance of voice culture. This is to be accounted for probably from the circumstance that the subtle beauty of melodic conception not having developed here nearly to the same noble height as in India, Europe has had to try to unearth the potentiality of the human voice for the maximum effect. The result is that a singer in Europe is admired more by virtue of his richness of voice-production than by reason of his expression of the fundamental musical idea. Though perhaps the European audience may be a little loth to admit it unless they try to analyse things with a little less prejudice. Indians on the other hand have gone a little too far, perhaps, in our idealisation of pure music with the result that they have almost ignored voice-culture altogether (except perhaps in the case of professional lady-singers). Thus in our country a singer with a naturally good voice is complacently regarded by connoisseurs as a mere fortunate person gifted with an agreeable voice. That is all. Knowing this instinctively, a singer in our country whether blest with a good voice or not sings quite naturally using the whole of his musical inspiration for the supreme expression of the basic musical idea without bothering in the least about seeking novel effect by the development of the unsuspected possibilities of the voice.

The next point I should like to discuss is to present the case of melodic music as developed in Raga-music. As a great artistic achievement it is, by no means inferior to that of harmony in the West. It has often been urged in Europe that homophonic music is inferior to the polyphonic since the latter is far richer in the scope of variety. It may be conceded that polyphonic music is indeed superior to the homophonic in gorgeousness of structure and sonorousness of sound, and that the melodic music of Europe represents a lower stratum of development of musical feeling of the West than her harmonic music. But it is unfair to compare the former with the age-long melodic evolution of India especially with her Raga-music. For Indian melodic music with her peculiar character of the "ragas" and the fundamental originality of outlook, with her nature of evolving the "ragas" and the wonderful way of their classification, with her rich subtlety of exposition and inexhaustible scope of variety, with her ecstatic delicacy of touch and wonderful finesse of suggestiveness; Indian melodic music is as distinct from European melodic music as cheese is from chalk. So the mere fact of the harmonic music of Europe being superior to her own melodic music does not make the former absolutely superior in evolution to the melodic music of India. Besides, such a clear-cut comparison between the two is one of enormous difficulty as is bound to be perceived by any one who knows even a little of both. For where is the basis

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for comparison when the outlook of one is fundamentally different from that of the other. Indian Raga-music has aspired and evolved itself through ages to give expression to her own outlook on life and things in her own way. So has Europe. Both have achieved something great—one in harmony, the other in melody. Besides what really matters is not an adjustment of the relative values of the two in artistic evolution—for that is next to impossible—but the profiting of each from the musical experience of the other. For this, however, it may be suggested is that some European musicians of really liberal culture should go to India to know first of all what Indian music at its best can be like and *vice versa*. Then Europe will also realise incidentally—as already many have been forced to realise—that the hard and fast dogmas she has nursed so long with regard to the absolute superiority of the harmonic over the melodic music in general are by no means as unchallengeable as they have been disposed to believe so far, just as we discover on coming to Europe that our Raga-music is not the only music that is capable of moving us. Thus whenever one finds Europeans generalising and ventilating opinions about homophonic music one cannot help a feeling of regret that Europe should not have taken any pains to come to India to know our music at its best, the absence of which knowledge makes all her generalisation about melodic music untrustworthy. For the evolution of the Raga-music of India is one of the greatest achievements in the emotional expression of mankind in the history of the manifestation of the sense of the beautiful in the human soul—differing fundamentally in its outlook from that of Europe in melodic music. On a sort of delicious sublimation of the tears of sympathy for humanity—our music is probably far more a slave to *stimmung* or inspiration of the moment than European music can be. For the latter having evolved along the lines of organisation and thoroughness so characteristic of Europe, in contradiction to India, has perhaps much more succeeded in establishing the musical emotion generated by a composition than we can ever hope to do.

I must now briefly touch upon our Talas or Rhythms though I must warn my worthy audience at the very outset that anything like a convincing demonstration of the quality of evolution of our Talas is out of the question. For, to have even a bare idea of the exceedingly rich and complicated character of our Talas, one must hear our classical music with the accompaniment of a Mridanga or Tabla which is a sort of drum of different shapes in different parts of India. I have no time to even explain how they are played with music. Suffice it to say, therefore, that it requires long practice and patient training to be able to accompany our music well on the same. The subtle and lovely play of the fingers of both the hands—for it is with the fingers the drums are played—is as enjoyable to see as the accompaniment is delightful to hear. Mridanga is a sort of oblong hollow wooden instrument resembling a short bolster in shape and covered with stretched animal membranes at both ends. It is used as an accompaniment of Dhrupad or sonorous music only being highly sonorous in sound. *Tabla and Baya* consist of two drums of different shapes which are played simultaneously with both hands and are employed to accompany all classes of music except Dhrupad. Both the Mridanga and the Tabla are tuned to the tonic of the singer, and their clear musical cling contributes not a little charm to the music. As some Europeans have pointed out, the drums are not thus tuned in any other country. Now I will deal with the Talas. As however it is impossible for me to touch upon the nature of all of them I must needs confine myself to treat of some of the principal ones specially these which differ in the nature of their stresses from that of the rhythms of European music. I will omit all the others.

One of the most interesting rhythms of Dhrupad is known as Dhamar which consists of 14 beats to a complete measure in which the stresses are like $\overset{x}{1}\ 1\ 1\ 1\ \overset{0}{1}\ 1\ \overset{2}{1}\ 1\ 1\ 1\ 1\ \overset{3}{1}\ 1\ 1$. The beats marked (0) are called "phank" (meaning nil) and are supposed to be beats of relatively smaller stress or accent compared with these marked x 2 3 of which that marked (x) (called Sam) is supposed to be the beat of maximum stress.

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The singer generally sings accompanying himself on a stringed instrument.

Another rhythm which is generally played to the accompaniment of Dhrupad and Kheyal is Jhauptal, which consists of 10 beats to a complete measure, thus $\overset{x}{1}\ 1\ \overset{0}{1}\ \overset{2}{1}\ 1\ \overset{2}{1}\ 1\ \overset{3}{1}\ 1\ 1$.

Another rhythm is Surphanktal which consists of the same number of beats as Jhauptal but which differs from the latter by the distribution of stresses. In this Tal the Phank or beat of minimum stress is non-consistent. It is generally played with Dhrupad. The beats are $\overset{x}{1}\ 1\ 1\ 1\ \overset{2}{1}\ 1\ \overset{3}{1}\ 1\ 1\ 1$.

There is another rhythm known as Chautal also played with Dhrupad only. It consists of 12 beats to a complete measure, thus $\overset{x}{1}\ 1\ \overset{0}{1}\ 1\ \overset{2}{1}\ 1\ \overset{0}{1}\ 1\ \overset{3}{1}\ 1\ \overset{4}{1}\ 1$.

I pass by many other Tals as I want to conclude with a reference to our scale.

In Europe there is a widely prevalent idea that our scale is something peculiar or fantastic possessing intervals which are never used in European music. There is little doubt that it is the old Sanskrit theorists who are responsible for this myth for a myth it unquestionably is. I myself had thought these Sanskrit theorists infallible with an Indian child's simplicity and traditional reverence for everything written in Sanskrit. I have however made a rather careful study of this subject and have come to the conclusion that apart from our employing the just intonation—as distinguished from the tempered scale of the piano or the organ—our scale is just the same as in European music, that is to say containing but twelve intervals to the octave. It would be superfluous for me to try to go into details to substantiate this statement of mine which is now being generally though facilely accepted as unquestionable due among other reasons to our writing down music which has contributed a lot to clarify our nebulous ideas on this head. Why then does such a belief still obtain even among the cultured men among us, may now be asked. The reason is not far to seek. Music, in our country, has, for some time past, been in the hands of people without much liberal culture, and consequently for theory of our music we take the old Sanskrit theorists on trusts. Besides we have a tendency to lend credence to anything written in the sacred Sanskrit character.

In conclusion it may be remarked that though our musical art seems at present to have come to a sort of temporary stagnancy due to a variety of reasons—which would be rather out-of-place to deal with here—a new age shows unmistakable signs of dawning which tends to recognise more and more the value of achievements already made in our cultural evolution, a new age which is becoming more and more alive to the cultural disaster of imitation for imitation's sake; a new age which is not only going to revive our glorious art and philosphy, but which is also going to inspire us with greater and loftier ideals of the desiderata in culture than any dreamt of by our predecessors.

IV.—THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART.

THE Exhibition of modern Indian pictures at the Samavaya Mansions which was opened by His Excellency the Governor on the 23rd December last has always a fascination quite its own. It is the revelation of a new point of view—of a new generation of artists who are attempting to frame a form of expression from the Indian view of life, aided no doubt by conventions of the old Indian Masters, but also by conventions which they are devising for themselves. Their little pictures, sometimes flat and decorative, sometimes realistic, sometimes bathed in sunlight and often submerged in the mystic haze of sombre hues have a way of winning one's attention which one is not inclined to devote at the first glance. They have a manner of tempting you to a world of their own with which we may not have any sympathy and which the average man is not anxious to explore.

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SUJATA.
By Bireswar Sen.

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The singer generally sings accompanying himself on a stringed instrument.

Another rhythm which is generally played to the accompaniment of Dhrupad and Kheyal is Jhauptal, which consists of 10 beats to a complete measure, thus x 0 2 2 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1.

Another rhythm is Surphanktal which consists of the same number of beats as Jhauptal but which differs from the latter by the distribution of stresses. In this Tal the Phank or beat of minimum stress is non-consistent. It is generally played with Dhrupad. The beats are x 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1.

There is another rhythm known as Chautal also played with Dhrupad only. It consists of 12 beats to a complete measure, thus x 1 1 0 1 1 2 0 1 2 1 2 1.

I pass by many other Tals as I want to conclude with a reference to our scale.

In Europe there is a widely prevalent idea that our scale is something peculiar or fantastic possessing intervals which are never used in European music. There is little doubt that it is the old Sanskrit theorists who are responsible for this myth for a myth it unquestionably is. I myself had thought these Sanskrit theorists infallible with an Indian child's simplicity and traditional reverence for everything written in Sanskrit. I have however made a rather careful study of this subject and have come to the conclusion that apart from our employing the just intonation—as distinguished from the tempered scale of the piano or the organ—our scale is just the same as in European music, that is to say containing but twelve intervals to the octave. It would be superfluous for me to try to go into details to substantiate this statement of mine which is now being generally though facilely accepted as unquestionable due among other reasons to our writing down music which has contributed a lot to clarify our nebulous ideas on this head. Why then does such a belief still obtain even among the cultured men among us, may now be asked. The reason is not far to seek. Music, in our country, has, for some time past, been in the hands of people without much liberal culture, and consequently for theory of our music we take the old Sanskrit theorists on trusts. Besides we have a tendency to lend credence to anything written in the sacred Sanskrit character.

In conclusion it may be remarked that though our musical art seems at present to have come to a sort of temporary stagnancy due to a variety of reasons—which would be rather out-of-place to deal with here—a new age shows unmistakable signs of dawning which tends to recognise more and more the value of achievements already made in our cultural evolution, a new age which is becoming more and more alive to the cultural disaster of imitation for imitation's sake; a new age which is not only going to revive our glorious art and philosphy, but which is also going to inspire us with greater and loftier ideals of the desiderata in culture than any dreamt of by our predecessors.

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Yet when one is tempted within the door of this dreamland—one's experience is enriched with a thrill and a quality of pleasure for which there are no equivalents in the actuality of our lives.

Art, in this class of production, is, in a sense, an escape from Life—or a substitute for Life—not a counterpart or a repetition of it. This magic world is created by means and methods which are a peculiar inheritance of Asiatic æsthetics. In the case of the Schools of the Far East their special qualities have been acknowledged, appreciated and eulogised. The peculiarity of Indian æsthetic methods, and the special qualities of its forms of expressions, in many respects akin to those of the Far Eastern Schools, have not yet received adequate recognition. And any School or individual artists who may attempt to explore and exploit the possibilities of the Indian artistic language—having an honourable history spreading over many centuries are often taken to task for wasting their energies on out-worn creeds and out-of-date methods. From the modern point of view—the models of the Greek School or Italian Schools of the Renaissance—or even of the Dutch Schools of the 18th Century are as out-of-date as the Schools of Kangra or of the Moghuls. While a study of the first by modern Western artists is not entirely banned—the Indian artist's attempt to study the old masterpieces of his country is generally regarded with disapproval and sometimes with suspicion. And any emphasis laid on the lessons of old Indian Art is sometimes regarded as a boycott of European æsthetics, an ample dose of which it is believed by many is sure to bring æsthetic salvation to India. That the ideas of the West are destined to bring about a new renaissance in India, and in fact are sowing seeds for such a consummation, under our very eyes, will be readily admitted. But that should not discount the value of the contribution of Indian thought itself to the synthesis of the coming era. And the part that the Western ray is to play in helping the future Indian lotus to bloom is still a matter of controversy for which Exhibitions of the new school of painting always offer fruitful materials. They silence criticisms in one quarter and provoke them in another. This quality of evoking discussions is a sure indication of its vitality and its aggressive life. It challenges questions which unfortunately do not always offer solutions in the examples of the little pictures put together in a particular show. From this point of view the pictures exhibited at the last show were hardly prepared to answer the many and varied questions which this Exhibition always raises in the interested visitors. But if they are not in a responsive mood this year they have very interesting statements to make of their own. Between the attempts of some to exploit Eastern forms and of others to assimilate lessons from the West—a group of artists are formulating a language for which it is difficult to derive ancestry either in the East or in the West. In this respect the works of Mr. G. N. Tagore stands on a very unique pedestal. They are in a way realistic, but the twilight and night effects of his impressionistic sketches have a quality all their own and cannot be traced to any models in the East or the West. His recent excursions to cubistic regions are undoubted pilgrimages at the shrines of Modern European Art. But his return to his own studio has given us a "House of Mystery" enriched with new beauties, and a charming phantasy of "Puppets at Play" seen through the vision of the child realised through the atmosphere of fairy-tales. It is always difficult to paste such pictures with either an Eastern or Western label. It is always risky to try to formulate a final verdict on the endeavours of a movement which has yet to complete its curve. And sometimes it is difficult to gather from a particular show, the general trend of its inclinations and tendencies. It has been oscillating between diverse ideas and influences. Sometimes it clutches at old ideas with too slavish tenacity, sometimes it assumes a rebellious mood disdaining all other forms,—now shutting its doors against every kind of rays from the West and now borrowing all manners of Western ideas in an attempt to fuse new life into its sap of old. The character of the movement has perhaps been well summarised by a recent nationalist writer: "The creative endeavours of Young India's futurists are neither mere calls for 'Back to the Past' nor

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harangues inciting to 'Down with the West' as superficial observers would seem to read in the literary proclamations of the school. These are but the initial surgings of a dynamic *Shakti* (Energy) that had been pent up for a century and a half, in its *Sadhana* (Effort) toward achieving the assimilation of a cosmic neo-eclecticism of the modern world, so that a synthetic stage of cultural *Swaraj* (self-determination) may ultimately evolve, on which Asia will be enabled, as of old, to move and to strive to unmake and to makeboldly to borrow and to lend as an independent unit in the course of spiritual exchange—unhampered to struggle, to experiment, to live." This tendency "to borrow, boldly" from many sources, this inclination "to experiment" has been a marked feature of many of the exhibits of the last few years. A diversity of ideas, methods and subjects displayed in the last as also in the present Exhibition somewhat hampers the unity of a common purpose, and the fidelity to old faiths which was such an outstanding character of the earlier shows. This divergent note is as much the product of an inclination to eclecticism as to the number of new recruits which have lately brought in individual notes free from the earlier creeds of the initiators of this new school. The works of the young prodigy of fourteen, Bishu Charan Chowdhury, for example, reveal no influence from the leaders or the colleagues of the group. His "Image and its Maker" (No. 179) a delicately executed large composition so illusive in its restrained colouring, has had no counterpart in earlier efforts of any of the members of the school. He seems to have broken the habits of the school to confine its efforts in miniature scales. His other exhibits, very striking in their originality, the series of "Gayatri" pictures (The Spirit of the Morning, Noon and Evening Prayers No. 143A, B) were all executed in large scales. In this respect the impressive composition of Asita Kumar Haldar (of Dr. Tagore's school at Shantiniketan) entitled "Rai Raja" (Radhika as the Queen of the love-land) is undoubtedly one of the pictures of the year. Some of the works of the younger exhibitors chiefly from the Shantiniketan school display considerable promise. Moni Bhusan Gupta's Joydeva Festival (No. 45) and Masoojee's "Preparing for the 'Baha' Festival" (No. 48) are bold and fresh visions of village life actualised with the aid of great executive skill. There is a dignified restraint in Romendra N. Chakravarti's "Parrot" (No. 56) which makes it a little masterpiece in its own sphere. In his "Earth and Water" (No 60) Ardhendu P. Banerjee has missed hitting out an impressive composition spoiled by the exaggerated green. "The Fisherman" (No. 63) combines a lot of conscientious drawing without hampering the realisation of a nobility of vision and outlook. Of the latest recruits the haunting study of "Bhairavi" (No. 36) by Alokendra Nath Tagore, a symbolic figure of the spirt of morning melody, is of outstanding merit which will claim ardent admirers. Sudhansu Chowdhry's excursion into mythology is marked with an originality and sense of decorative values which many did not miss in his "Serpent King" (No. 87). Uma Prosad Mookerjee's charming little study entitled "Winter Morning" (No. 76) did not fail to attract the discriminating visitor. "The New Born" (No. 298) by S. N. Banerjee has a quality of design and execution which is rare amongst the junior exhibitors at the show. It has a power and a feeling for its subject which is worthily upheld by a sensitive technique. Of Mr. Roopkrishna's many exhibits, all charming in their restrained colour schemes, the "Bhil Girl" (No. 205) stands out from its companions by the boldness and the originality of its treatment. It looks very like a fragment of an old fresco put into a new frame. Mazumdar's series of pictures—exquisite in their colour schemes and soothing in the quality of their spiritual charm—are chained in the iron-clasps of the conventions of old Indian artistic anatomy for which it is always difficult to sympathise, though his compositions offer pictorial qualities not attained by any of his colleagues at the exhibition. He occupies a niche in the exhibition which is quite his own. His "Radhika" here reproduced is fairly typical of his exhibits this year. Nanda Lall Bose—the earliest exponent of the qualities of old Indian masterpieces—has ventured into a new experiment in his "Song of the Rainy Season" on the lines

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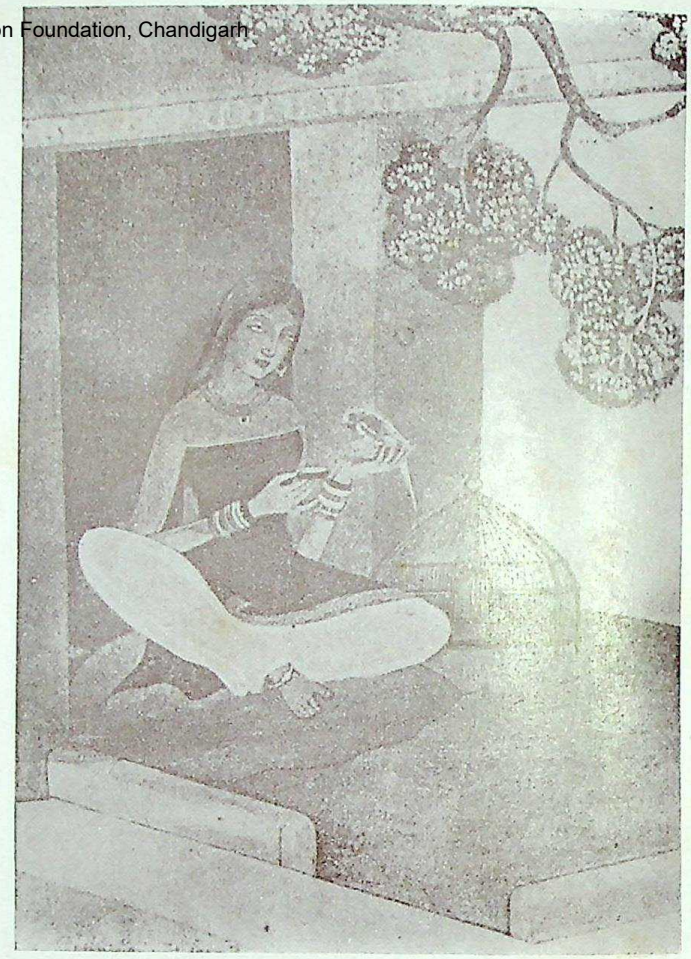
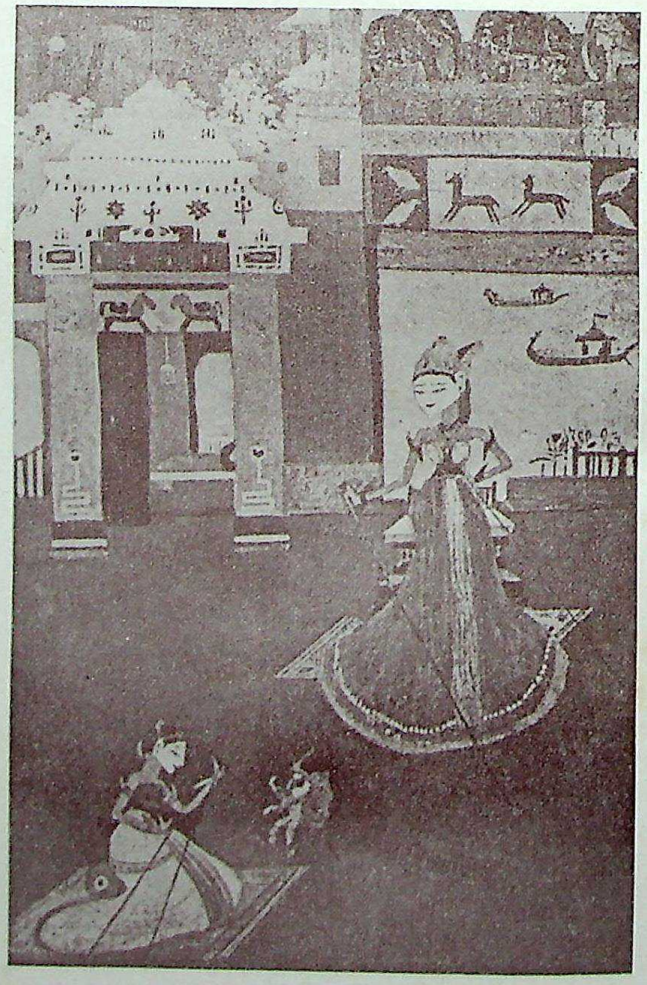
A. Radhika, by K. N. Mazumdar,



B. The Parrot, by R. N. Chakravarty.

C. The New Born, by S. N. Banerjee,



D. Puppets at play, by G. N. Tagore.

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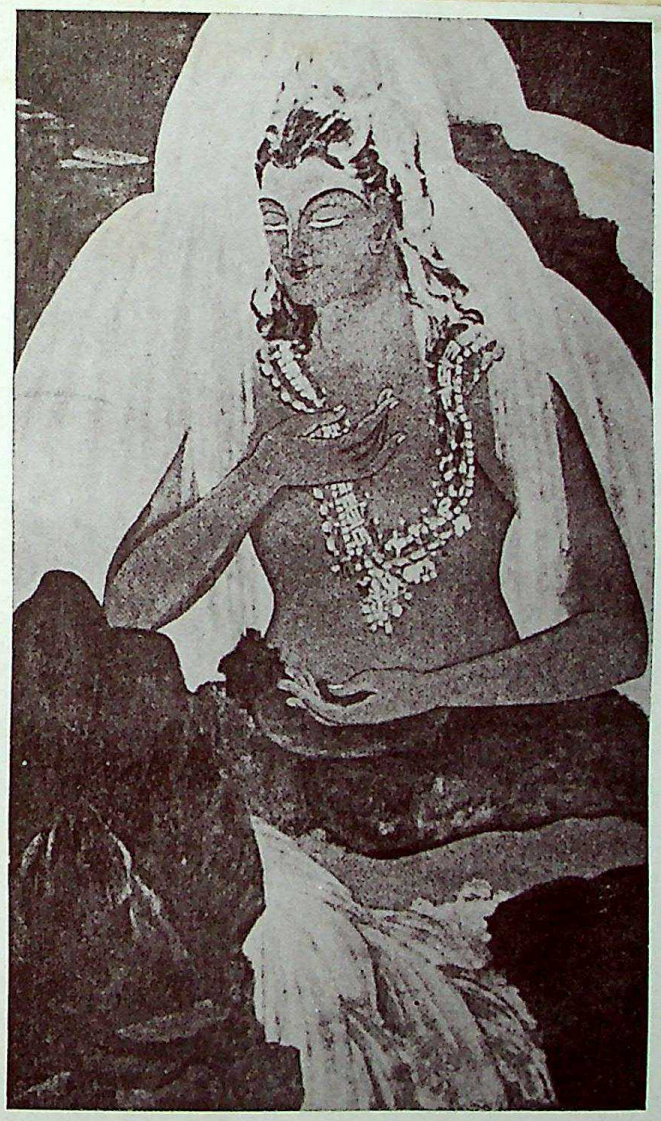
of old Ragini pictures, though his subject and its treatment are quite original. As an illustrator of the Mythology of Shiva he has a worthy supporter in N. N. Tagore who exhibits a large composition picturing Shiva as the torrents of the Ganges descend over his head. ("Birth of the Ganges" No. 12). As the most ardent advocate of the lessons of Modern English Illustrators —the works of Bireswar Sen—(the only worshipper of Art by the way, from the local University) have always enjoyed a popularity — envied by many of his fellow artists. His works as a rule have shown nothing particularly Indian except his subject. In this year he has chosen a deliberate Indian point of view both in conception and treatment the result of which should be awaited with interest. His "Sujata" (reproduced in the colour plate) carrying her pail of milk is sure to captivate many by its charm of Indian womanhood realised in an appropriate atmosphere and in a simple yet telling colour composition. Sailendra Nath Dey—one of the old members of the group—is represented by two pictures which are not up to the level of his illustrations of the Meghaduta on which his reputation justly rests. His works are chiefly attractive by reason of their freedom from any influences from the East or West. Durga Sanker Bhattacharjee, who inclines to the old classical themes, which he has a power of dressing in accomplished technique, is very well represented in a series of pictures of which the best is perhaps "Uma" (No. 9) the Sakti of Shiva performing penances in the Himalayas. Of old Indian theme Olindra Gangoly has a manner of treating, in bold and daring colour schemes which display strength of vision and execution. Very few were likely to miss his "Kali," a large composition on silk. His "Bride," also on silk, was quite in another key none the less charming in its quiet dignity. The works of A. R. Chugtai, so well known in all exhibitions throughout India—by the prolific multiplicity of one groove of ideas that it is difficult to pick out works of outstanding merits in the examples exhibited here. It is unfortunate that the artist refuses to find fresh fields and pastures new for his talent and persists in a monotonous line which sometimes lowers him to the level of Christmas cards. Somewhat similar remarks apply to the exhibits of Charu Ch. Roy whose undoubted talent in the field of book-illustration has won him considerable distinction. The pictures exhibited do not represent him at his best. In the works of many new exhibitors there is a refreshing note of originality and individuality of design which is a very happy contribution to the development of the school. Direndra K. Varman's "Autumn Sky" and "Hail Storm" (41) are very noteworthy in their originality



BIRTH OF THE GANGES.
By N. N. Tagore.

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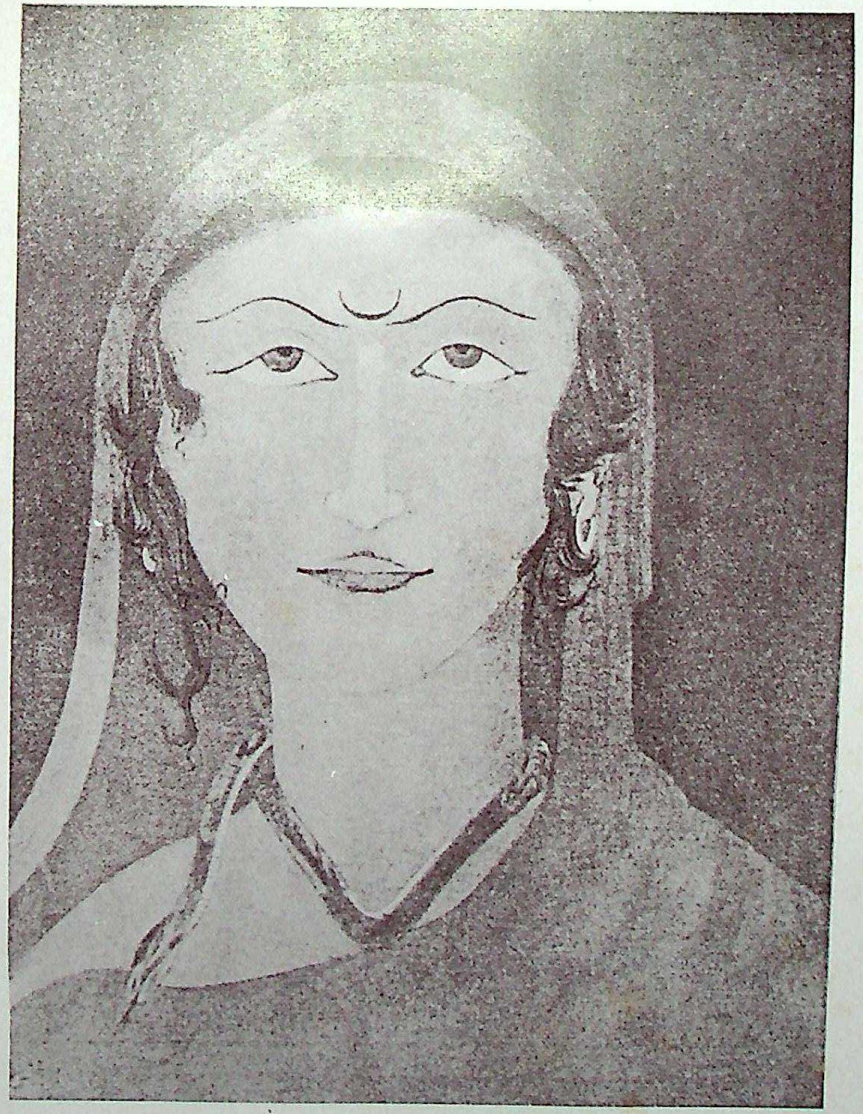
and conviction. S. N. Banerjee's "Ektara Player" (No. 46) presented an old subject in a new dress. Moni Bhusan Gupta's "Flower Harvest" displayed a quality of vision which is not always cultivated among many of his friends. It was a gem in its own way, chiefly attractive for the freshness and charm of its conception. Somewhat similar in quality of vision and charm of presentation was Uma Prosad Mookerjee's "Winter Morning" (No. 76) and Kali Pada Ghosal's "Sakuntala" which is not listed in the catalogue. R. Chakravarty's "Marriage of Shiva" is a worthy attempt to tackle an ambitious subject—chiefly characterised by a sense of grouping a movement often lost sight of by the younger members. Some of the daring colour schemes offered by the younger members have put to shade the timid efforts of their seniors in this direction." The "Blue Lily" (No. 137) exhibited anonymously by a student should furnish a lesson to those for ever enchained to sombre harmonies. But in this quality the highest compliment is due to Gouri Devi, the talented daughter of Nandalal Bose who in her "Day when the Flowers Bloomed" (No. 55) gives a radiant yet a chaste sense of colour which has no equal in any of the other exhibits. That it comes from the brush of a lady artist raises hopes which the coming generation of Indian ladies should help to realise. Special interest therefore attaches to the works of other lady exhibitors such as Sunayani Devi and Shanta Devi whose talent refuses to be kept within the bounds of literary fame. The works of Sunayani Devi have already won deserving tribute. Her works this year are however not on a uniform level. Her "Sorrowing Shiva" and "Three Sisters" amply sustain her reputation as a designer of wonderful decorative power. There is a number of small pieces of stone carvings of which those contributed by Mahapatra, a hereditary craftsman from Orissa, deserve special mention. The section devoted to works of the modern Continental artists deserve a special notice. Very few people in India have an opportunity to study the inclinations and the aims of the new exponent of "Pure Art Values" which a section of Modern European Painters are preaching as the goal of the Art of To-morrow. The following extracts from the Introductory note to the catalogue will be found interesting: "It is for the first time that Western Art is represented in India by a number of the most advanced and most sincere works of leading Continental Artists. They do not belong to any school, but came from different parts of Europe, each having his own manner and technique. The Artists met in Weimar and in spite of their variety of form found themselves united in their aim to realise the eternal truth of all art and to visualise it, by the means supplied by the present age, in their creed. They joined hands and became the masters of a State-school of Art, and the method of their teaching is to hold up the example of their own inspired truthfulness and severe discipline. Neither masters nor students are the followers of any "isms" although they are bound to make use of them to a greater or smaller extent. For "Cubism" or "Post-impressionism" are conventions of form, developed out of the need of the moment, and no artist in whom the present is alive can escape their formulae. Kandinsky, the Russian painter has been for more than ten years the herald of the "Spiritual in Art." His power of abstraction is unswerving, put into action as it is by the fervour of a mysticism which has no other name but that of Russia. He was the first to paint pictures without any subject matter. He avoided all allusions to literature and nature and so made himself free to infuse his inner experience into mere lines and mere colours which are organised into compositions of intoxicating harmony. Kandinsky is the "expressionist among the painters. If the end of civilisation foretold for Europe of the present day is to come true, it must be said that the artists are fighting heroically their last forlorn fight. But all death means resurrection and art in itself is immortal. The Indian public should study this exhibition, for then they may learn that European Art does not mean 'naturalism' and that the transformation of the forms of nature in the work of an artist is common to ancient and modern India and Europe as an unconscious and therefore inevitable expression of the life of soul and of artistic genius."

E. Water & Earth, by A. P. Banerjee.



F. Bhairavi, by Alokendra Tagore.

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V.—AIMS AND METHODS OF PAINTING IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

Literary Sources of Information.

No specimen of Indian Painting of any great antiquity has survived the unavoidable ravages of climate and time. Our sources of information regarding its aims, methods, and achievements, are, therefore, confined, almost entirely, to literary notices, handed down to posterity, in the classical language of the land. They are, however, usually ignored, as they belong to a comparatively recent epoch of History,—far removed from the dawn of civilisation,—when the Indian people beheld with admiration, not unmixed with astonishment, the first appearance of Painting as the most wonderful creation of Man. Yet they are by no means devoid of interest, inasmuch as they disclose, in appropriate quotations and references, many original maxims stored up in the memory of the people, revealing not only the Laws of Technique, but also some of the aesthetic principles underlying the same. These literary notices are of two classes,—descriptive and canonical. The first may be found dispersed over all general literature, specially Poetical and Dramatic. The second are, on the other hand, confined to technical writings, which collectively came to be called the Silpa-sástram.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF ART.

The word Silpa is derived from a root, which indicates any device (kausalam) produced by concentration of the mind of Man (Samádhi) ; and as such it is etymologically applicable to all classes of art,—Fine or Industrial.

A distinction was eventually introduced to separate the one from the other ; and the Fine Arts came to be indicated by the word Kalá, while the Industrial Arts were designated by a different name, Káru.(1) As the Industrial Arts of India long survived the decline and disappearance of most of the Fine Arts, the Káru-canons suffered less than the Kalá-canons, which came to be speedily buried in oblivion, when no inducement remained to secure their preservation by a laborious process of keeping copies of original manuscripts. The Silpa-sàstram was virtually a competent part of the Vástu-sástram, the Science of Architecture. The volume, which this branch of literature once assumed, may be better imagined than described.

VASTUSASTRA-WRITERS.

Like the twenty sages of old, beginning with Manu, still remembered with veneration as inspired authors of the Dharma-sástram, there were eighteen sages of old, beginning with Bhrigu, who became celebrated as the inspired authors of the Vástu-sástram, although they are now scarcely known or remembered by their own countrymen. They were, Bhrigu, Atri, Vasistha, Visvakarmà, Maya, Nárada, Nagnajit, Visáláksha, Purandara, Brahmá, Kumára, Nandisa, Saunaka, Garga, Vasudeva, Aniruddha, Sukra, and Vrihaspati. (2)

VASTU-SASTRA-COMPILATIONS.

The epoch of these sages, prolific in original contributions to the art-literature of Ancient India, amplified by learned commentaries, which aimed not only at the elucidation of the texts but also at the reconciliation of the different views entertained by the sages, was followed by one of abridged compilations, during which the chapters on secular painting were usually allowed to be dropped in anxiety to preserve

(1) This distinction does not appear to have been established without a difference of opinion. For according to Sukranitisára, the word Kalá indicated the products of the industrial Arts. This was, however, a comparatively modern nomenclature, when the ancient one had been apparently forgotten:

(2) Matsya-puránam, Chapter 252, V, 2-4.

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those on the building of temples and consecration of sculptured images of deities, of which the people still stood in devotional need. The original writings thus came to survive either in fragments, or in condensed forms in the language of the compilers.(3) They stood either alone or were readily inserted into the Pauranic and Tantric literature, the general store-house of Indian wisdom.(4)

As no systematic attempt has as yet been made to collect and classify these fragmentary texts, the study of Painting in Ancient India is unavoidably beset with numerous difficulties, too intricate to be easily overcome. Yet it is a fit subject of research; and a time has come when its claims can no longer be lightly ignored.

We must, however, proceed with great caution, to avoid the difficulties created by the clerical errors of careless scribes, and the difficulty of discovering the true meaning of many an obsolete technical term.

SPECIAL COMPILATIONS ON PAINTING.

The names of compilations, specially devoted to Painting, are now known mostly from quotations. They include such works as the Chitra-karma according to the texts of Brahmá; Chitrapata, Chitra-paddhati-vyákhyá, and Chitra-sutra, none of which has as yet been discovered. The chapters on painting, inserted in a condensed form in the Visnudharmottaram, are therefore, to be looked upon as our chief source of information,—now rendered easy of access by a printed edition of its manuscript, though unhappily disfigured by many mistakes of the scribe and the printers.

FOREIGN TRANSLATIONS.

In this obscure state of scanty information, it is some relief to be acquainted with a Tibetan work on Painting, the Chitralakshanam, which has been published with a translation in German. The name suggests that the original was composed in Sanskrit of which the Tibetan work was a mere translation. It appears to have been compiled for a special purpose for the Land of Snow, in which the introduction of Buddhism made it necessary to have text-books to regulate sacred paintings for the devotional requirements of the new religion. The work is confined only to the methods of such paintings, and in all essential features, it agrees approximately with the laws laid down in the Visnudharmottaram. A similar work in Chinese has been printed without any translation, but illustrated by diagrams which correspond with the proportions prescribed for Painting in Ancient India.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

These canonical compilations, though scanty and fragmentary, throw much useful light upon the descriptive writings, in which the poems and dramas abound. They supply to a great extent valuable materials for a study of the aims of Painting in Ancient India which are otherwise liable to be overlooked or misinterpreted. Literary sources of this class are too numerous to be exhaustively enumerated. They reveal above all the great part which painting came to play in the ancient culture of the people. When we read glowing accounts of the elaborate picture-galleries in the Chitrasálás of kings and noblemen, of the gorgeous wall-paintings in their palaces and castles, of the artistic sceneries displayed in private and public theatres and dancing halls, of the decoration of seats and places for taking daily meals, and of the painting of floors of courtyards from the cottage to the palace on occasions of feasts and ceremonials,—we may form some idea,—even with a liberal allowance for fanciful ex-

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(3) Chapter 55 of the Vrihat Samhitá of Varáha-Mihira is concluded with a clear acknowledgment of the adoption of this method.

(4) Extracts from one of the compilations, ascribed to Kasyapa were inserted in the commentaries, Bhattotpala appended to the Vrihat Samhitá of Varáha-Mihira. Kasyapa's work was available in Southern India when Ramraj, in the beginning of the last century, composed his elaborate Essay on the "Architecture of the Hindus;" and it is still in existence in a MSS. preserved in the Madras Library of Oriental MSS. The work of Maya, condensed under the name of "Maya-mata," exists in a MSS. in the Travancore Library, from which a copy in Nagari has been secured by the Varendra Research Society. This work has now been printed without any critical notes of the text. Works still available on this subject lie scattered about, and the first step towards a systematic study calls for an endeavour to collect them in one place.

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aggerations of poets and story-tellers,—of the extent to which Painting in Ancient India entered into the daily concerns of life.

PICTORIAL SPECIMENS.

Little remains now of that universal love of the beautiful in the ugly struggle for bare existence in modern times in India. The few pictorial sources of information, which have survived this struggle, are, therefore, not very satisfactory, inasmuch as no true Painting of any remote antiquity has as yet been discovered in any part of the country. The few available specimens consist of line-drawn figures, wall-paintings and book-illustrations, with hardly any pretensions to claim or deserve the name of true Painting, of ideal perfection. Still they are fairly indicative of a general scheme, which constituted the key-note of Painting in Ancient India.

PRE-HISTORIC PAINTINGS.

The oldest is very old indeed, nay pre-historic in essential features, discovered in the crude drawings of primitive hunting-scenes on the walls of a group of caves in the Kaimur Range of Central India. One of the most complete records of this class was recently found in the Central Provinces in the Raigarh State near the village of Singhanpur. A graphic description by Mr. Percy Brown runs as follows :—

"On the sandstone rock at the mouth of a series of caves in these hills are a number of rude drawings in a red pigment, which may be of very remote antiquity. These drawings depict human beings and animals, and are accompanied by what appear to be heiroglyphics. Some of the animals are characteristically drawn, such as a stag, an elephant, and a hare, while the action of the figures has considerable spirit. A hunting-scene, where a number of individuals are endeavouring to secure a huge bison, is graphically portrayed, several of their company having been tossed and gored in their efforts to round up the animal. A similar incident on the same wall evidently depicts a buffalo badly wounded with spears, and staggering in its death-agony, surrounded by the exultant hunters."(5) Hunting scenes, crudely drawn in this style, have been found also in some of the caves in the Mirzapur district of the United Provinces, depicting the chase of wild animals, such as the rhinoceros and the sambar stag, said to be "most realistically rendered." (6) Hunting supplied to the Indian kings and their warlike subjects a national pastime, which has not as yet entirely disappeared from the land. It is, therefore, no wonder that hunting-scenes should continue to be a favourite theme, even for sculptured panels, worked out for the decoration of temples in all epochs of Indian Art.

OLDEST WALL-PAINTINGS OF THE HISTORIC AGE.

The oldest wall-paintings, executed about the first century before the Christian era, have been found in red and black on the walls of the Jogimara Cave of the Rangarh Hill, in the Central Provinces, badly defaced by a subsequent clumsy restoration. Though rendered indistinct in this way, they still reveal traces of animals and figures, arranged in concentric panels, with repeating borders of fishes, Makaras, and other aquatic monsters, without any definite data to connect them with any particular form of Indian faith.(7)

(5) Indian Painting, pp. 15=16.

(6) Photographs of some of these pre-historic Paintings in India, kindly supplied to the writer for study and research, cannot, however, be published before a monograph on the subject is published by the Department of Archæological Survey of India. They may, however, be seen in the Patna Museum.

(7) Col. Ouseley in 1848 and Col. Dulton in 1865 contributed papers on these caves in J. A. S.B., Vols. XVII and XXXIV, respectively. Mr. Ball of the Geological Survey of India published his inspection notes in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. II, pp. 243—246. Burgess published a paper in 1905 in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197-200. Beglar's account in Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XIII, pp. 31-35 and eye-copies of Inscriptions in Cunningham's Corpus Inscriptioncrum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 33) contain descriptions and sketches. These caves and the inscriptions discovered in them were described and discussed by Dr. Bloch in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 123-131, with photographs of the outer view of the caves and inscriptions and plans. The descriptions of the best preserved painted panels, published in this Report show a male figure seated under a tree with

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These cave-paintings fairly indicate a practice which, freely indulged in the decoration of walls from the humble retreat of the hermit to the ostentatious palaces and temples, gave rise to a method which may be called truly Indian. The painted cave-temples of Ajanta supply elaborate specimens of this type. They have been called by competent experts a combination of 'tempera and fresco.'

FRESCOES OF AJANTA.

The Caves of Ajanta, or rather its rock-cut structural buildings, occupy a romantic situation in a lonely ravine, about four miles south-west of a small village named Fardapur in the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The credit for the selection of this site has been given by Mr. Percy Brown (Indian Painting, p. 26) to the Buddhist priests with a general observation that—"that the priests as a body were alive to the inspiring influence of a beautiful environment is evident in their invariable selection of picturesque sites". This is in perfect agreement with a similar observation of Havell, which seems to be gaining a fair currency with persistent repetitions. But one may perhaps be permitted to point out that an artistic appreciation of the beauty of natural scenery was not the monopoly of the adherents of any particular religious sect in ancient India. The sites, in which the gods were believed to come nearer to their votaries, had been described in detail in the canons of Art, which even prescribed the creation of artificial environments, where natural ones were not available. (8)

With every sect some types of devotional temples and hermitages were always necessary. And votaries of each religion naturally preferred to have a secluded situation, to avoid the molestation of vulgar intrusion, calculated to disturb the serenity of the sacred retreats.

After centuries of abandonment and devastation, the Ajanta Caves, with their noteworthy wall-paintings, long hidden away in the jungle, were brought to notice in 1819. Since then the frescoes have become still more damaged, and some have disappeared altogether, as may be found from the fact that in 1879 sixteen out of a series of twenty-nine caves contained paintings on their walls; while in 1910 frescoes could be found only in six of them, numbered 1, 2, 9, 10, 16, and 17. Archæologists have assigned various dates to these painted caves between the first and the seventh centuries of the Christian era, according to which caves 9 and 10 are now regarded as the oldest, and caves 1 and 2 the latest in the group. Here then we have some traces still left of the styles of wall-paintings during several centuries including the golden age of the Gupta Empire. (9)

BAGH SPECIMENS.

The remains of the wall-paintings at Bagh in Rajputana may also be mentioned in this connection. Their age has not as yet been definitely settled, but they have been characterised as more secular than devotional in the selection of subjects represented by them. The History of Painting in Ancient India has yet to be compiled from all sources, literary and monumental. It is a task which awaits more painstaking endeavours than any hitherto displayed in the study of Indian Archæology, which, in the

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dancing girls and musicians on the left; a number of male figures, a wheel and geometrical ornaments, traces of flowers, houses and human beings wearing clothes. A naked male figure seated cross-legged with attendants, a chaitya-window, an elephant, a chariot drawn by three horses surmounted by an umbrella are noticed without any illustrations.

(8) Vrihat Samhita, Chapter 55, Verses 3, 8. Kasyapa, quoted by Bhattotpala in *Ibid.*

(9) The study of the remains of these wall-paintings has unfortunately become beset with many difficulties. The first faithful transcripts of about 30 of these paintings were made by Major Gill in 1848 and were sent to England. Exhibited in the Crystal Palace Exhibition, they were destroyed by the conflagration which concluded that celebrated show. Mr. Griffiths of the Bombay School of Art next inspected the remains and reported that "many of the paintings, as far as the hand could reach, have been wantonly defaced, hacked, and scratched in every direction, leaving not a square inch perfect." (Ind. Art, Vol. II, p. 153.) He made some copies which were published by Government, and Lady Herringham published some of the sketches taken during her investigations. None of these can, however, claim the distinction of being regarded as faithful transcripts or scientific reproductions.

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midst of all this untold wealth of materials, is still very largely pre-occupied with spade-work alone, generally "unhonoured and unsung" by the very people whose glorious past it aspires to exume. The past was glorious indeed, as it embraced many centuries of intellectual advancement, which stimulated culture, and enabled India to be regarded as its fountain-head throughout the East.

INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM.

The gospel of Gautama, the Buddha, (enlightened),—largely graphic in its methods of propagation,—helped the Indian traditions to influence the art-inspirations of Ceylon, the Eastern Peninsula, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago on the one hand, and Khotan, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan on the other. Foreign pilgrims returned home, laden with books of Indian wisdom and specimens of Indian art. Many Indian artists migrated to and settled down in foreign countries to paint frescoes which adorned the land of their birth. Competent art-critics have now come to discover that materials for the study of Painting in Ancient India, may on this account, be found also in many foreign lands.

INDIAN FRESCOES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

The frescoes at Sigiria and other places in Ceylon, the paintings in the Nara-period in the seventh and the famous frescoes in the temple of Horiuji in the eighth century in Japan, and the recently discovered remains in and around the sand-buried cities of Khotan, have thus been declared by them "quite Indian in character." Although Buddhism contributed in this way to the dissemination of Indian art-ideals far and wide by land and sea, yet there is room for hesitation to accept the general observation of some of the European writers that the development of Indian art was a direct product of the teachings of that form of Indian faith. As the Indian people was one, in spite of diversity of religions, so their art-ideals had a common fountain-head, in the common instincts of the people. Many subjects of pictorial representation had an undoubted origin in the stories and traditions connected with the actual life and supposed previous births of the Great Master, yet there were other subjects which could be properly claimed as the common heritage of all; and art-ideals may be more appropriately included in the same.

TARANATH ON INDIAN ART.

The formation of this Occidental view is perhaps due to some extent to the writings of a Tibetan Lama, named Taranath, who included a chapter on the History of Art in his compilation of a general History of Buddhism, recorded in the seventeenth century with the help of the writings of the past. His general observation —"Wherever Buddhism prevailed skilful religious artists were found,"—is liable to be understood to imply that skilfulness was claimed as a monopoly of the Buddhist artists; and so it fluctuated with the rise and fall of the influence of Buddhism. In his Summary account of Indian Buddhist Art, the Lama indicated several periods of artistic activities, with different degrees of achievements, from the earliest times to his own day in India. In the first period, "dating even from the remote age prior to the disappearance of the Teacher," nearly five centuries before the birth of Christ, the Deva-artists produced works of superlative excellence; followed, in a subsequent age by the works of Yakshas, about the third century before Christ. The Naga artists flourished later on in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. All subsequent periods are said to have been covered by the endeavours of human artists, who tried only to effect a renaissance, once under a Master named Bimbisara in Magadha and once again under another Master named Dhiman and his son Bitpal of Varendra, during the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala, two celebrated kings of the Pala-dynasty of Bengal who lived in the ninth century after Christ. Bimbisara's school produced a style which resembled that of the Devas, while Dhiman's produced another which resembled that of the Yakshas. This account deserves a scrutiny, which has not as yet been fairly begun. (10) To these

(10) According to it, India had only three schools of art, all of supernatural origin,—the Deva, Yaksha, and Naga,—which flourished from the oldest epochs to the period just antecedent to that of the Guptas. There were no schools of

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sources of information may be added another, noted for its extreme rareness,—the descriptions recorded by actual observers, the Jaina and Buddhist Pilgrims, Indian and Chinese.

THE PLACE OF PAINTING IN INDIAN ART.

The highest place, amongst all forms of art, has always been assigned in India to Painting, whether secular or devotional. Painting also came to be regarded as the earliest form of all artistic representations. (11) Even for purposes of worship, an image, produced by painting, was regarded as the most appropriate, in that the deity was believed to come near the conception of the votary, because beauty, ornamentation, display of sentiments, and the like, could be vividly displayed by means of painting alone. (12)

THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN PAINTING.

The Origin of Indian Painting, like that of the other achievements of ancient culture, is now lost in oblivion. A natural curiosity to unravel the mystery gave rise, in the past, to several legends some of which have been handed down to posterity in written records in Sanskrit.

LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS.

One legend ascribed the origin to Brahma, who "taught a king how to bring back to life the dead son of a Brahman, by executing a protrait of the deceased, which he endowed with life, and so made an efficient substitute for the dead youth, whom Yama refused to give up." (13) Another legend ascribed the origin to a sage named Narayana, who, with a view to humiliate the Deva-women, proud of their beauty, drew on the ground the potrait of an Apsara, of superlative gracefulness, endowed it with life, and so put the Deva-women to shame and obliged them to quit his hermitage (14).

FIRST PRODUCTS: A PORTRAITURE.

Although these legends are not unanimous as to the name of the originator, nor as to the occasion for the first display of skill, they are fairly unanimous as to the nature of the first product,—a portraiture. They are also unanimous in suggesting that Painting already existed as a finished art, but its knowledge was a secret with the alleged originator. This so-called origin, was not handicapped by any shortcomings of a first effort, it was rather exultant with the achievement of an ideal perfection. These legends, which, thus relate more to the first exhibition than to any real origin, cannot satisfy curiosity, nor shut out further enquiry. The oldest pictorial remains also disclose the same thing,—a gift of artistic expressiveness, exhibited with a well-matured skill, which can be hardly called "primitive."

The real origin must be looked for, in the first ineffectual efforts, as well as in the cause or causes, which led to such primitive endeavours. In the absence of positive testimony, natural curiosity demands, at any rate, some hypothesis, based on a philosophy of its own.

PHILOSOPHY OF PAINTING.

The West persisted long in a "comfortable feeling" that there was no such art as Painting in India; and looked upon all available specimens as mere "Oriental Curios." With a change of this old attitude the west has just commenced to record a tardy recognition. As the literature on Indian Painting still consists in the main of these contributions of Western scholars, and as no hypothesis about the origin has as yet been formulated by any one of them, a search for it in the ancient literature of India was recommended by an art-critic (The Editor, "Rupam") with some interesting observations, which concluded with an appeal to Gopinath Rao, whose lamentable premature death deprived us of the benefit of his reply. The proposed investigation still lies in abeyance. It must be admitted that the real

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human origin, all human Masters merely tried to introduce a renaissance, which imitated either the Yaksha or the Deva school. The Naga school, according to this account, was not attempted to be imitated at all.

(11) The Vishnudharmottaram (III) refers to this.

(12) Matsya-puranam.

(13) Percy Brown's Indian Painting, p. 18.

(14) Vishnudharmottaram, Part III, Chapter 42

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origin lay primarily in human nature itself. But what led to the first efforts? What demonstrated their necessity? What called for the invention of necessary skill? These are questions, which the hypothesis must try to answer. Happily for us we have a clear clue to this in a dialogue recorded in the Purana. The literature on Painting in Ancient India consisted of two parts,—one concerned with its aims, and, therefore, called the Chitra-sutra; and the other concerned with the methods, and therefore, called the Chitra-kalpa. Once upon a time a king approached a sage to know the methods of Image-making, which formed the subject-matter of Chitra-kalpa, dealing with the conventional rules. Upon this followed a dialogue; thus—

King—Oh! Sinless One! Be good enough to tell me the Methods of Image-making.

Sage.—One who does not know the Chitra-sutram (dealing with the aims of Painting), can never understand the Methods of Image-making (narrated in the Chitra-kalpa).

King.—Be then kind enough to tell me the Chitra-sutram.

Sage.—But it is difficult to understand it without the help of Nritya-sutram (dealing with the art of Dancing).

King.—Kindly tell me then those sutras.

Sage.—These are difficult to be understood by one who does not know Atodya (Instrumental Music).

King.—Pray, let me then know Atodya.

Sage.—But it cannot be known without a knowledge of Vocal Music.

King.—It seems then that one who knows Vocal Music knows everything. Tell me then the sutras of Vocal Music.

The sage then commenced with lessons on Vocal Music and ended with those on Painting, after which he narrated the Methods of Image-making, with an observation that Painting was known as an art intimately connected with Dancing. The Chitra-sutram ends with a clear acknowledgment of this connection.(15) In this dialogue, the sage disclosed the philosophy of Painting, revealing the secret why all traditions about its origin related to a portraiture as the first product of the art. Why was Painting recognised as an art essentially connected with Dancing? The answer has to be gleaned from the legend about the origin of Dancing recorded in the Purana.

DANCING IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Dancing in ancient India was as old as the Hills. Its origin is now hopelessly lost in oblivion. A legend came, therefore, to satisfy the natural inquisitiveness of Man. Dancing was freely indulged in by all, the males and females alike, of the lowest as well as the highest grades of Society. Even the maiden daughters of kings received a careful training in it. It came ultimately to be universally believed that Dancing was not merely a luxury, it was also a necessity, inasmuch as it developed in the males a dexterity in warfare, and in the females a skill to display in the best way the natural gracefulness of their beautiful form.

THE LEGENDARY ORIGIN OF DANCING.

As Dancing revealed, in its aesthetic expressiveness, the innermost sentiments of the human heart, it naturally captivated the imagination of man. The legend about the origin of this skill relates that it was first exhibited by Visnu when He killed the demons named Madhu and Kaitabha. Laksmi, the consort of Visnu, noticed the graceful movements, and wanted to know what was indicated by them. Visnu told her that they constituted that art of Dancing. To satisfy her natural craving to enjoy the display of this skill, He disclosed its secret to Brahma, who imparted it to Rudra (Siva), enabling him thereby to acquire the title of Natesvara (Master Dancer). He is believed to entertain His consort Parvati every evening in His mountain-abode in Kailasa, in the presence of

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(15) Yadatra noktam tannrityad vijneyam vasudhâdhipa
Nritye'pi noktam tachchitram nâtra yojyam narâdhipa.

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all the gods and goddesses, who take part in vocal music to enhance the splendour of this evening Dance, known as the Sandhyâ-Tândava.

DANCING AND PAINTING.

As a natural craving for enjoyment of a display of gracefulness, exhibited in the Dance, led to the repetitions of the original performance, similarly a natural craving endeavoured to "secure the shadow ere the substance failed," by inventing a device, which gave a permanency to the expressions of beauty during the fleeting moments of the Dance. This gave rise to the art of Painting, and constituted its philosophy. With the change of times and the consequent change of tastes, Dancing no longer retains its old hold upon the Indian people. The ancient literature on the subject has necessarily become obsolete. Yet there are records, literary and monumental, to bear testimony to this intimate relationship between Dancing and Painting. The style as well as the name of Dancing differed with sex. Male-dance came to be called *Tandava*, after the name of its human teacher, a sage named Tandu, who is said to have acquired the skill directly from Siva. Female-dance goes by the name of *Lasya*.

STYLES AND POSES.

One hundred and eight different styles with different names are enumerated, and one hundred and one are described in the fragmentary work of Bharata, now printed under the title of Natya-sastram. In the decorations of the outergate (Gopuram) of the Sivite temple at Chidambaram in Madras, Ninety-seven stone-panels still exist, with the names and descriptions engraved according to the code of Bharata, disclosing in bas-reliefs the figure of a dancing-girl with appropriate graceful disposition of limbs, indicative of actual movements required in a Dance. Here may be discovered a dim but definite connection of Painting with Dancing, as alleged by the ancient sage. The Chitra-kalpa, dealing with the methods of painting, refers the reader, in many essential particulars, to the Nritya-sutram, and thereby acknowledges this traditional connection.

SECULAR ORIGIN OF PAINTING.

The legends about the origin of Painting identically disclose that portraiture was the first form in which the art was exhibited; and that the first display was essentially secular. The art undoubtedly found favor in all royal courts in ancient India. It was also utilised by the preachers of the Gospel of Gautama in the propagation of their faith. But it is difficult to agree with those Western writers who wish to ascribe the origin either to the royal courts or to the Buddhist hermitages of ancient India.

THE CRADLE OF INDIAN PAINTING.

The origin cannot be reasonably looked for in the Chitrasalas of kings in which Painting received royal patronage only when it had already put forth its best efforts to deserve official recognition. The Buddhist writings, notably the oldest Pali texts of Vinaya-pitaka, contain accounts of picture-galleries in the palace of King Prasenajit, who was a contemporary of the Buddha. This tends to suggest that the art had flourished fairly well before it was utilised by the Buddhist monks for the propagation of their faith. They, however, cultivated only one class of Painting, the class which helped their devotion, and facilitated the representation of Symbols and Images of their faith too complicated to be regarded as "primitive". The cradle of Indian Painting lay in the humble cottage, a gradual development of the art carried it "from log-cabin to the white-house". In its origin it was essentially national, more secular than devotional, anxious to create an environment of beauty for all, just as the natural sceneries supplied a common heritage to all the people of the land.

IDEALS.

The legends about the origin of Indian Painting incidentally revealed its fundamental Ideal, which stimulated conception, and regulated necessary conventions of art. The legend, which ascribed the origin to Brahma, related to the production of the

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portrait of a deceased person. The legend, which ascribed the origin to the sage named Narayana, related to the production of a portrait of an imaginary Fairy (Apsaras) of uncommon beauty.

In both cases, the aspiration was the same ;—it was the production of a portrait, which, miraculously endowed with life, constituted 'an efficient substitute.' The object in one case was familiar and real; in another it was unfamiliar and imaginary. The real and the familiar stood in no need of any conventional form, which, however, was unavoidable in the case of the imaginary and unfamiliar. The Indian canons of art came, therefore, to recognise the necessity of dividing all objects into two classes, dristam (seen) and a-dristam (unseen) and proceeded to regulate suitable forms of a-dristam (unseen) by conventions of art. The Vishnudharmottaram (Part III, Chapter 42) laid this down in the dialogue in which the sage told the king that the forms described to him related only to the a-dristam (unseen), as for the dristam (seen) the picture should completely resemble the visible object in every case without any exception. In both cases it was a perfect resemblance which was ordained as the chief characteristic. In the case of familiar real objects as well as in the case of imaginary and unfamiliar real objects, a perfect resemblance was the Ideal, in one case with nature, in another with the conventional form (16). Although the a-dristam included some of the real but unfamiliar objects, yet it consisted mainly of images of deities and their companions. In the beginning they were also included in the dristam-group of visibles. In the Cycles of Time called Satya-Treta-Dvapara, men used to see the Devata and directly offered worship to them. In the present Kali-age (Iron-age) men lost that faculty, and therefore devised divine images according to the rules of the chitrasutram.

This legend suggests clearly that these conventional forms were designed on account of a later necessity, which arose with the ultimate loss of the full capacity of human vision. The object of the conventional forms of deities was to facilitate their contemplation, and their production was, therefore, recommended to be attempted entirely according to such contemplation, and never by any other method, not even by copying any visible model. (17)

REALISM AND IDEALISM IN INDIAN PAINTING.

Realism and Idealism have thus to be understood with some reservation in the case of Indian Painting. It was essentially realistic, in origin as well as in all subsequent stages of development. But it was realistic in the sense that its sole aim was the production of an effective substitute of the vision of the subject, familiar or unfamiliar, real or imaginary. In one case it aimed at the representation of the spirit which underlies all forms; in the other it aspired to give a form to the Spirit to facilitate the realisation of the unfamiliar and imaginary subjects. In all cases it was a creation, in no case it was a copy either of nature or of any imaginary form. One noticeable proof in support of this conclusion may still be found in the fact that Painting in India has always been independent of any model set up before the apprentice.

The word *Sadrisyam* the production of which is said to be the chief aim of Indian Painting according to the canons, is derived from the word *Drisyam*, which means an impression in the form of a vision resulting from a visible or imaginary object. Painting in India aspired to produce an effective substitute of this, and not of any object in any case.

The chief aim of Indian Painting was thus to give a visible form to the invisible spirit which underlies the seen and the unseen objects of art. It was, therefore essentially a creation, a realism in which mere form was regarded as immaterial.

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(16) Etadrupa samuddesha madristânam taberitam.
Dristam susadrisham kâryam sarvesâ mavishesatah.
Chitre sâdrishya karanam pradhânam parikîrtitam.

(17) Sukranitisara.

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VI.—INDIA AND THE ART OF INDO-CHINA.*

By M. VICTOR GOLOUBEW.

THE civilisations of French Indo-China can be divided into two well-defined groups. Chinese culture is to be found in Annam, in Cochin-China and Tonkin, but Cambodia and Laos have, throughout the ages, preserved their close relationship with India.

At one time the whole peninsula of Indo-China, with the exception of Tonkin, adhered to the culture of India. The Eastern side, known as Annam, was then inhabited by a Malayo-Polynesian race, the Chams (pronounced *Tiam*), who have since the commencement of our era, been in direct relationship with India. The conquest of this country by the Annamites in the fifteenth century resulted in the disappearance of the Cham kingdom.

For the earliest history of the Chams and their neighbours, the Khmers or Cambodians, we are indepted to the Chinese. The *Tsin chou*, or history of the Tsin dynasty (265—419), contains a special chapter describing a vast kingdom, Fou-nan by name, situated on the lower Mekong and the coast of Cochin-China. This can be identified, in part at least, with the Cambodia of the present day. The Chinese tell us that this kingdom was conquered during the first century A. D. by a Brahmin, Kaundinya, who married the young Queen Lieou-ye. In 484 the King of Fou-nan addressed, through the Buddhist monk Cākyā Nāgasena, a petition to the Emperor of China, in the course of which he gives some precise information about the religious customs observed in that country. The highest deity was Mahecvara (Civa?). A bodhisattva (Avalokitecvara?) was devoutly worshipped as a god of Mercy. Idols with two and four heads and many arms were fashioned in bronze. There were sculptures of elephants in sandal wood, and *stupas* in ivory.

The most ancient inscription which has been discovered in Cambodia so far dates from the year 629 A. D. It is written partially in the Khmer language, partially in Sanskrit, and refers to the donation of a civalinga. On the epigraphical monuments of the best epoch, the Khmer writing recalls that of Southern India and the Western Deccan. Sanskrit scholars agree in praising the skill shown by the Cambodians in inscribing on stone. Some of their steles are models of regularity, fine workmanship, and elegance. It has been found possible to reconstitute the history of the ancient Cambodian Empire, through the examination of about 350 inscriptions, and the perusal of a large number of manuscripts written on palm leaves. Not only the evidence of the plastic monuments, but also the Khmer texts prove the existence of a powerful state created on the lines of the ancient Hindu kingdoms. The culture, institutions, and the arts of "classic" Cambodia recall the plains of the Ganges, the south-eastern coast of India, and the island of Ceylon.

It has not been discovered as yet how Hindu influences made themselves felt in Cambodia. According to information drawn from the Chinese annals, and in accordance with geographical considerations, it is now generally admitted that this influx took place from the south—*i.e.*, from the deltas of the Menam and the Mekong. It is quite possible that priests, exiles, and merchants came from India and settled on the coast of the peninsula, after having rounded its southern extremity or crossed the isthmus of Kra. On the other hand, elements of Hindu culture may have spread over Cambodia through the territories which are now known as Siam and Burma. The texts are practically silent on this point. However, certain inscriptions mention that Hindu priests came to Cambodia in order to teach religion.

The art of Cambodia reveals profound Hindu influence. But it would be wrong to ignore the importance of native traditions and ideals which have given to certain aspects of the Khmer art a purely national character. It may be also said that an Indian god modelled by a Khmer artist frequently tends to resemble the early popular idols of the Cambodian villages, which should be classified as products of a primitive art, such as is found among the native of Indonesia and the Oceanian islands. Yet the elements pointing to this transition are often scarcely perceptible. There is no trace of characteristic Gandharian influence in Cambodian sculpture, although a faint reflection of Greek art may have reached Cambodia by means of the plastic schools of Magadha, Southern India, and Java.

Indian art had already reached and even passed the era of her greatest development when the first stone temples were erected in Indo-China. A large number of Khmer works of art, dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, recall the monumental styles of the Gupta and the Pallava periods. Chinese influence may be traced in a certain details of architecture and decorative art; this influence, however, has been rather doubted.

The vanished kingdom of the Chams, the Champa, has provided Indo-Chinese epigraphy with a Sanskrit text dating back to the third, or even second century A. D. I refer to the famous inscription of Vo-canh discovered in 1885. This inscription deals with a pious foundation instituted by a sovereign who proclaimed himself a descendant of a certain King Cri-Māra. It proves the existence of an Indianised state in the region of Nhatrang, in Southern Annam. Numerous inscriptions have given precise information on the Cham kingdom and

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its history. The most ancient of these are composed in Sanskrit. The Cham language appears on the steles only towards the period marking the decline of Champa and the breaking up of intellectual relationship with India. There are no Sanskrit texts in Champa later than the twelfth century.

At the present time we can only find very vague traces of the power and splendour, long since gone, which once characterised that race. The Chams of to-day are not numerous, and often scattered among savage tribes. They have lost nearly all the traditions which connected them with India. The majority of them have become Muhammadans, following the example of the Malayans. Some, however, still follow the religion of Civa adapted to local superstitions.

At the time of its political supremacy Champa represented Hindu culture on the Pacific coast. Its kings observed, in their public and private life, the ceremonial practices of India. The Brahmins exercised great influence on the people. The first Hindu colonisers probably reached Champa by the Southern Seas. They may have used Java and the Hindu states on the peninsula of Malacca as stopping-places on the way.

The art of Champa shows a powerful Civaistic inspiration. The most ancient sanctuary of that country, the temple of *Po-Nagar* at Nhatrang, is dedicated to the *Cakti*, or mystical wife of Civa, worshipped under the name of *Bhagavati*. The cult of the *linga* was very common among the Chams. Buddhism appears rarely.

China was prevented from exercising a great influence on the civilisation of ancient Champa owing to the continual relations of this State with India; and that in spite of the fact that the two countries have for nearly ten centuries bordered on one another. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect in the works of Cham artists the presence of certain elements of Chinese origin the Khmers have not introduced into their own art.

The sculpture and architecture of Champa reached, in the seventh century, a degree of development which Khmer art did not realise until the ninth. At the time when the magnificent temples of Angkor were being erected, Cham art was already in its decline. This decadence became more pronounced according as the Indian influence receded and the disastrous consequences of the Annamite invasion made themselves felt.

As compared with Champa and Cambodia, Laos occupied a second rank in the history of Indo-Chinese art. This country has not produced any remarkable monuments in stone. Nevertheless, certain Laotian temples built in wood offer some artistic interest. Since the middle ages the people of Laos have excelled in the art of casting and sculpturing Buddhas in bronze. Some of these statues recall the *Hinayanist* idols of Ceyloln. On the other hand, one can also notice features of Chinese character which can be easily explained on historical grounds. As in the case of the Khmers and the Chams, the craftsmen of Laos have a tendency to substitute, in place of the Indian characteristics, native formulas.

Since the discovery of Angkor in 1861, archæology in Indo-China has been marked by considerable progress, but the comparative study of the different art styles, more or less impregnated with Indian influence, is still in its beginnings. When thoroughly understood, this study will enable us to write afresh some forgotten chapters of that great Indian art which spread over Eastern Asia just as the Greek plastic ideals inspired the countries of the Mediterranean and extended beyond the Alps.

VII.—THE GENESIS OF THE *SHIKHARA*.

By N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

MR. HAVELL regards the *Shikhara* as the peculiar contribution of the Aryans to the building traditions of India and he traces its origin to the "fortress palace of the tribal chieftain, the *mandapa* of which was both the council house of Aryan *Sabha* and the place where tribal religious ceremonies were performed."* I shall not discuss this antithesis, in my opinion somewhat exaggerated, of racial contributions. Mr. Havell considers that "the *Shikhara* itself was originally a watch-tower generally pierced by sunshaped loopholes where the archers of the Royal Bodyguard were stationed."* The explanation is no doubt ingenious but in my opinion somewhat farfetched and inadequate.

The most natural hypothesis which suggests itself to me that the *Shikhara* is merely an exaggerated form of the human headgear. It was the natural development of a *Kirita* or a *Mukuta* which was the headgear of royalties and divinities. The *Kirita* so long as it was confined to its place on the human head, had to be small and in accordance with the human

* R. G. Bhandarkar's commemoration Volume 1917. Page 444-5.

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needs ; but its limitations in size and space were reduced when the execution of the device was extended to the sphere of royal seats, chariots, temples and palaces. It is rather remarkable that the *Shikhara* is encountered not only in temples but also in chariots both ancient and modern. The ordinary bullock-chariot has an unmistakably tapering spire characteristic of our temples. The form of these various *Shikharas* can easily be explained if it is remembered that the natural impulse of the human mind is to adapt and elaborate the headgear in proportion to the importance of the wearer of the emblem.

The Royal *Kirita* was elaborated in design and workmanship, but it could not exceed its dimensional limitations. The *Simhasana* or the royal seat with its *Chhatra* did not give much scope for the elaboration of this curvilinear spire. Considerations of space and proportion limited the development of *Shikhara* in its application to the *Simhasana* as well as to the chariot. The artist got greater freedom when he came to design the headgear of the divinity housed in a temple. What was more natural than the thought that the divinity should have a splendid and an imposing headgear worthy of its importance? The seated image had its limitations as the human form and consequently the artistic imagination conceived the surrounding structure as the vestures naturally tapering into a *Shikhara*—the headgear of the divinity.

This hypothesis of the development of the *Shikhara* from the human headgear receives striking confirmation from the close resemblance in form between the *Kirita* and the *Shikhara*. The symbolism of the headgear has its root in the psychology of the human mind and would appear to be almost universal in its application. Mr. Havell observes that the *Shikhara* design is met with even in the very ancient architecture of the Babylonians. The underlying idea of the symbolism is the same though it may be expressed in varied forms according to the traditions of the peoples who use it. The Saracenic dome and minaret, the Gothic spire and the Hindu *Shikhara* would all appear to be the development—the elaboration of the same symbolism. It would appear as if the human mind attempted to furnish the divinity or the personage or anything which it exalted, by decorating it in structural raiments. Even to a layman the appeal of the *Shikhara*, the spire and the minaret is the same. It was the attempt of the human mind to clothe its divinities in the most permanent materials it could devise. It is somewhat curious that while the dome and the minaret following the secular traditions of the Saracenic art came to form an integral part in the common architecture of Islamic peoples, the *Shikhara* and the Gothic spire came early to be appropriated almost to the exclusive use of the temple and the church. An attempt to see the origin of the *Shikhara* and the spire, the dome and the minaret in the common *Mukuta*, the top-hat and the *fez* may be a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous ; but it nevertheless may be a truer reflection of the human mind in its natural career than the far-fetched hypotheses which are often advanced to account for what appears to be a normal development from the small to the big.

REVIEWS.

CHINESE PICTORIAL ART BY F. A. STREHLNEEK. ILLUSTRATED BY COLOURED AND COLLOTYPE REPRODUCTIONS FROM THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTIONS WITH DESCRIPTIONS AND NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF DRAWING, WRITING, ETC. TRANSLATED FROM STANDARD CHINESE AUTHORS, SHANGHAI COMMERCIAL PRESS, 1914.

IT is sheer fatuity to launch into a critique of Chinese painting through the medium of reproductions without the originals. For if there is any type of art which baffles the photographer's camera or the other banal inventions of modern science, it is Chinese painting. With a prophetic vision of the rough handling which would one day be meted out to their European brethren, the Chinese artists chose silk and sombre colour so as to keep themselves for ever inviolate from these profanities. But if the reproductions given in Mr. Strehlneek's book are any criterion, we must say that masterpieces were scarce in Shanghai, and all that the Exhibition achieved was a dead level of mediocrity. The great masters have unfortunately migrated to Europe and found a last resting place

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on the dusty shelves of museums or of record rooms. That is not surprising, but what does astonish us is the enthusiasm which the lesser kind of Oriental art excites in the European mind. Little did we dream that when the flood of Chinese Art inundated the West, the day was not far distant when the populace would kneel before the grandiose, the bombastic and the sentimental. There is a magic in the name of T'ang, and it immediately recalls to our minds the marvellous grace, and the superb majesty of the Buddha in the British Museum and we cannot help experiencing a bitter feeling of disappointment when we are confronted with the specimens given. 'The Road to Immortality' (on page 28) with which the volume auspiciously begins is feeble for a T'ang—both in conception and in execution. We miss the majestic sweep of the brush, the sublime restraint and the sober tints, melting into the texture of the silk, which the T'ang artist so easily accomplish. Kwannin (on page 38) is even less felicitous. He masquerades with all the paint and powder of a modern actor, he embellishes his graces with a multiplicity of folds, he accentuates his divinity with a smirk, an attitude, and a halo. We are half reconciled, however, when we hear that he comes fresh from the ink of the Ch'ing Dynasty. We heave a sigh of relief when we come to the winter Landscape of Wang Wei (page 58 *et seq.*). The brush work is well modulated, the lines float into each other—tree, snow, hill and stream mingle in a celestial harmony. The artist feels himself a master, he has not hastened to crowd the silk, large empty spaces are left to emphasize the brilliance and to heighten the dignity of the work—crystalline in purity it is the outstanding feature of the book. From the T'ang to the Sung it is a rapid descent. The commanding power of the artist is still there, but the stream is less limpid, the artificial move obvious. The bird study (on page 94) is remarkable—the grouping is excellent, the brush work superb. Of almost the same quality is the Present of Geese (on page 102) by Mi Tei, not devoid however of a little histrionic effort. Emotion attempts to lurk in the shadows and the line in consequence becomes disjointed. The other paintings of the Sung period descend to the common place, without a trace of talent anywhere to animate or to redeem. The selections from the Yuan period are comparatively happy. We linger with pleasure at the portraits of the Family of Ni Yun (on page 130). The determined stiffness of the dramatis personæ fits so gracefully into the stiffness of the environment, while the charming little splashes of red scattered all over the silk with such unerring skill constitute the strength of the work. Contrast by way of relief is afforded by the wavy lines against the background of short sharp bristling strokes of the brush. Pleasing also is the Hunting Party (on page 138). Though the composition leaves much to be desired, though there are unwarranted breaks, yet the ensemble of the colour, the energetic individuals, the rugged hills, and the blossoming trees combine into a harmonious whole. Art, we notice, has already seen the full flower of youth,—it has become precious. The great synthetic achievements of the earlier masters have almost vanished in the struggles of the artist to be beautiful. The Ming period is a refined and comely decadence. We bow however to the superb mastery of form manifested in the snow scene by Shen Chou (on page 154). It is a brilliant piece and serves to demonstrate the fatuity of all theories and generalisations of Art. This is certainly one of the best in the book and one which we are loathe to abandon, before we lose ourselves in the senility of much that follows. Graceful too is the Peak enshrouded in rain (on page 170). The labour is manifest and the trees seem to strike a jarring note against the massive mountains in the background, though they are beautiful taken by themselves. We enter a most emphatic protest against the banality of the Eight Beauties (on page 178 *et seq.*), Chinese Art even in its death struggles never ceases to be beautiful,—we had hardly a suspicion that the Ming artist ever sank to such depths. This piece might almost be one designed by some dexterous modern craftsman to cater to European galleries. The centre of the composition, which serves to add flavour and piquancy to the beauties are the rails, designed in the approved Birmingham manner. The ancestral portraits given on pp. 190 and 194 are clumsy in design, we see a patent illustration of the usual artifice employed by the painter, who is haunted by a consciousness of inability to represent form. He conceals from beneath heavy masses of colour fringed by rococo decoration. The Domestic Deities (on p. 202) recall a Tibetan manner, though in Tibet the manner had faded. Here the deities masquerade in stiff costumes and erect poses in a new and agreeable manner. Finally, we feel lost in the mists of the Ching world. The Scrolls are becoming deplorably modern, the sparks of talent which occasionally animate the brush are lost in a riot of meaningless line, overloaded decoration, and inappropriate colour. In this world of boredom, we turn with relief to the sure and unfaltering accents of Chung Kuei (on page 264). It is a work of genius, worthy of the best days of Chinese Art. The broad sweeps emanate from a master's hand, the glowing beard, the drapery, each line irradiates sparks of the highest genius. Very good also is the figure of Ta Mo (on page 272) though the artist errs on the side of excess. In the supplement, the figure of the War God arrests our attention; though our enthusiasm fades when we recollect the sublime achievements of Wei sculpture. The Horse and Rider (on page 34) is staid and seems to terminate with an abruptness we hardly relish. The warrior (on page 38) trembles on the verge of questionable theories and the plastic qualities of the figure are entirely lost in the world of controversy. The cabinet with ceramics (on page 50) contains a number of masterpieces

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particularly the figures on the lowest panel. It fits into our conceptions of Chinese Art. Chinese Art has been great in every age and every period and if we have hitherto harboured illusions about it, we would prefer to entertain them rather than face the vulgarity and the banality which often masquerades as Chinese Art.

ARUN SEN.

MINIATURMALEREI IM ISLAMISCHEN ORIENT VON ERNST KUHNEL MIT 154 TAFELIN UND 5. TEXT ABBILDUNGEN (DIE KUNST DES OSTENS). BAND VII, BRUNO CASSIRER VERLAG, BERLIN, 1922. PRICE 350 MARKS.

As if to atone for the past neglect of the study of Oriental Miniature Painting particularly that of India, a series of publications have recently come to light, the two latest from Germany, which give in a very popular form a brief survey of this interesting subject. The Persian Section of the subject has been a very pet hobby with Oriental connoisseurs who generally dismiss the Indian branch with scant courtesy. This has been the character of all previous publications particularly that of Dr. Martin (1912). Schulz (1914) happily avoided the criticism by confining himself to the Persian Islamic branch in his able monograph. Mr. Binyon's work (reviewed in these pages No. 8) was the first attempt to devote an entire book to the miniature painting of Islamic India, barring of course the ardent advocacy of Mr. Havell, to whom is due the honour of a pioneer study. In the present work by Herrn Kuhnel (issued in the admirable series of Handbooks published under the general Editorship of Dr. Kohn who began the series 'Die kunst des ostens' with his study of Indian sculpture) we have ample evidence of the change that has come in the outlook of Western scholars. The Author's contribution is eminently marked by this liberality of outlook. Out of a total of 154 illustrations he devotes as many as 52 to the Indian Section, which demonstrates that in a general survey of miniature painting the contribution of India has come to be counted. The author has yet retained his balance by devoting adequate attention to the Persian and Turkish Sections, the eminent contributions of which can never be overestimated. In a general survey of this kind intended to popularise the subject, one cannot expect much in the way of original presentation. But we are happy to attest to a few original criticisms on the part of the author particularly on the effect of the Mongol invasion in Persian Painting. "The invasion of the Mongolians about the middle of the 13th century did not put a stop to the book painting of Baghdad but only introduced to it a stream of Eastern Asiatic forms, which penetrated by slow degrees, but which never really completely gained the upperhand in this centre." The author is the first, perhaps, to point out the Indian influence on Persian Painting before the advent of the Moghuls. "With Bidpai's fables Hinduistic influences probably also penetrated to Mesopotamia. A work dated 1236 (pl. 19) the figures of which with their violent faces, appear entirely foreign to us, cannot possibly have originated at the same place as the contemporary Paris Hariri. Whether the work of an Indian was the prototype, as we shall venture to assume, can only be shown by time (p. 23). In the Vienna Maqames of 1334 there is an unmistakble Buddhist trait. A very similar throne picture, which is rather in the spirit of the cave paintings of Ajanta, and of the Turfan frescoes is contained in a large collection of the Yildiz Library." The illustrations to the Persian Section are very well chosen and borrowed from a variety of sources. In the Indian Section the author has chiefly drawn on the collections in the Berlin Museum. This in a way is an advantage to the student who is now given an opportunity to study many interesting examples of Moghul Painting hitherto unpublished. To the list of animal painters, the author is able to add two new names, *viz.*, Ustad Murad and Sherif Khan. The author's account both in the letterpress and in the illustrations, of Moghul portrait painting is not very satisfactory. Of the miniatures reproduced in plates 119 to 121 those of Babar and Shah Jahan are perhaps the best. Of the Durbar scenes the one from the Staatliche Museum (pl. 110) is published for the first time and is an interesting addition to the series of Court scenes known to us. We do not know why the author still persists in the somewhat inaccurate nomenclature of "The School of Delhi." The Moghul Court of which the Moghul School was an appendage has shifted to more than one place and after decentralisation spread over many distant parts of India. Although the Indian Islamic miniature painting really begins with Akbar, we have some evidence of its earlier phases in one or two miniatures, one reproduced by Havell, inscribed with the name of the Tughlak Dynasty. There is no doubt however as the author points out that it is to the personal initiative of the Moghul Emperors that the Delhi School one of the longest lived guilds of painters of any period and of any country, is indebted for its foundation and development. We are in general agreement with the author in his somewhat sweeping estimate of the actual achievement of the Moghul School:—"We have considerable number of names of masters of the second and third rank, but we miss that of any surpassing genius who might have immortalised in his works the unmistakable historic greatness of the age." A few miniatures have survived which undoubtedly claim to be works of the first rank in their conception and execution. We can only refer here to one well-known example, *viz.*, the Bodlian "Dying Man." But the really controversial portion of the book under review is that suggested by the inclusion of a dozen "Hindu miniatures from Rajputana." These are not introduced by way of comparison or contrast with the manners of the

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Moghul School; but are done as a deliberate attempt to prove that the Rajput School is really a descendant or a continuation of the Moghul School. This is the weakest part of the author's study. He has failed to distinguish the character and temper of the Rajput paintings from that of the Moghul. He concedes no doubt the fundamental Indian character of the Moghul School and how the members successively resisted the Persian influence at the beginning but he wholly fails to realise the character of the Rajput miniatures which could not have been inspired by the atmosphere of the Moghul Courts. The author is misled by the fact that some of the Moghul artists have attempted Hindu religious subjects and hence he argues fallaciously that the pictures affecting religious themes need not be attributed to "Non-Islamic India." Says the author:—"If the technical execution is the same there is no reason to isolate any particular work solely on account of the subject or perhaps on account of a Hindu name." But the author signally fails to take note of the fact that the theme as also the "technical execution" of the Rajput Painting proper are fundamentally different from that of the Moghul. The one is not derived from the other, although they have mutually influenced each other. "A master who had grown up in the principles of the Moghul Style" could never have conceived and executed the themes of the Rajput Painting in the manner and in the mood which are the glories of that School. The author has been misled by a few examples of the hybrid type, in which some of the manners of the Rajput School—as for instance the types of women and some spiritual feeling have mingled with the Moghul realistic presentation. The Rajput School is never realistic in its aims and its extremely sensitive and fluent and sometimes calligraphic draughtsmanship easily differentiates itself from the Moghul manner. The two streams of culture—with their distinct but appropriate forms of expression existed side by side—and none but a hasty observer could have confused the two. Our author should have come forward with better materials and reasonings to be able to refute the judgment of so accomplished a connoisseur and so able and scholarly an authority of Indian Painting as Dr. Coomarswamy whose estimate has been accepted by all connoisseurs with any pretence to a knowledge of Indian Painting. The illustrations on plate 143 to 154 are certainly out of place in a book on Miniature Painting in Islamic Orient. They cannot possibly be accepted as the manifestation of Islamic culture in India. Subject to this criticism we have no hesitation in recommending this finely produced volume to all students of miniature paintings. The wealth of illustrations alone is a wholly new feature of the book and the get up is excellent and does credit to the enterprise of the publishers. We have one or two minor criticism to add about the illustrations. Plate 122 cannot be the "Amir of Afghanisthan." It is a Rajput portrait of the Jaipur School—to which also belong plates 113 and 114 (Dole Lila) which latter cannot be classed as Moghul. We have several Moghul versions of the Dole Lila (pl. 114) one of which is in the Lucknow Museum. Good taste demanded the elemination of the picture "Das Brautpaar" (pl. 127) which has no artistic quality to recommend its inclusion. There are finer and more æsthetic version of the same subject in the Khuda Baksh Library. Many of the pictures (pls. 129 and 135 and 128) are representations of Raginis which the author does not care to identify.

INDISCHE MINIATUREN DER ISLAMISCHEN ZEIT MIT EINER EINLEITUNG VON PROF. SATTAR KHEIRI M. A. OBITER—PICTUS HERAUSEGBEN VON PAUL WESTHEIM BAND 6 VERLAG ERNST, WASMUTH A. G. VERLIN.

THIS volume forms sixth of a series of popular little books devoted to the art and architecture chiefly of the East. The plan of the publication is quite popular and unambitious notwithstanding a number of typical illustrations which is a very interesting feature of the series. They are likely to be of great use in conveying in a popular form sufficient information on the subjects treated. The sixth volume now before us is devoted specially to Indian Miniatures of the Islamic period. The author is a learned professor, an Indian and "a citizen of Delhi." When an Indian, a citizen of Delhi and a Professor to boot sets out to discourse on Indian Miniature Painting one's expectations are naturally raised to a high-pitch. After a "Foreword" which is in the nature of a political harrangue of which the chief burden is a mischievous lie, *viz.*, that it is against the interests of the English for anyone to know more or less in detail the history of the Mahomedan Rulers in India whom they deposed. The learned Professor takes us through two long chapters in which he introduces lot of miscellaneous matters regarding the Moghul Emperors—including caravansarais, bridges, the inevitable Taj and Kashmir Shawls out of which, by the way, the author is unable to make any relevant capitals or any background for his thesis. We verily expected that our author will give us a psychological analysis of the nature of Moghul culture and the environment out of which grew the School of Moghul miniature painting and though, quoting Graf Keysarling, he once alludes to the "scented colours of a feminine Salon culture"—but what was the nature and substance of this "Salon culture" the readers are left in woeful ignorance. And at last when he stumbles on the real subject-matter of his book, in Chapter III he begins to complain, (after wasting 8 pages out of 18) that "in the small space at my disposal it is impossible for me to speak at length about the technique method and the peculiarities of miniature painting. Moreover I am not in a position to describe the merits of the various painters or to explain why one miniature

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is of Akbar's reign and another is of Jahangir period." After this confession, no Reviewer will take to task the sorry performance of the author who obviously had no preliminary, not to say, an expert acquaintance with the subject. The author very probably believed when he took up the commission that his hatred of the English will give him sufficient inspiration to develop a love for Moghul painting which he never had and to acquire a connoisseurship of the beauty of the school which he never qualified himself to understand or appreciate. Amidst the numerous quotations from Smith and Havell, we have been able to cull a very original withal illuminating remark representing his original criticism of the school: "Most of the paintings are not lacking in artistic qualities." After studiously avoiding a statement of the character of the "Islamic Indian Spirit," the author concludes his 'illuminating' essay with the remark. "The Islamic Indian Spirit and its Culture can alone restore peace and contentment to distracted Europe and to the world." From a learned Professor of Islamic culture we at least expected the notes on the pictures to be more full, accurate and scholarly. He could have given us many useful notes on the subject-matter of many of the pictures, *e.g.* Saint Shah Madar (pl. 25), Qawwli and Hal (pl. 26), Zimurgh (pl. 27), the festival of Shab-i-Barat (pl. 43). He could have added greatly to the value of the study of the illustrations if he had only quoted the inscription on many of the pictures to which he vaguely alludes but which he does not quote. For plate 43, for instance, we are left to accept the undocumented assertion of the author that the princess taking part in the fire work is Zeb-un-nissa. The illustrations, 48 in number, are on the whole well-chosen and represent many interesting specimens. They are well reproduced and reflect credit on the publisher to whom we are indebted for a very interesting series of books on Oriental Art at a very cheap price.

INDIAN DRAWINGS: THIRTY MOGHUL PAINTINGS OF THE SCHOOL OF JAHANGIR (17th CENTURY) AND FOUR PANELS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE WANTAGE BEQUEST. TEXT BY C. STANLEY CLARKE AND A PREFATORY NOTE BY CECIL HARCOURT SMITH (VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM PORTFOLIOS). PRINTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE. LONDON 1922. PRICE 7s. 6d. Net.

THAT the custodians of the treasures of Indian Art at South Kensington are at last waking up to their responsibilities is amply demonstrated by the publications of the portfolios of Indian drawings a second instalment of which is now before us. In March 1921, the magnificent series of Moghul Paintings of the School of Humayun were published and were duly noticed in these columns (No. 9). We have now a second instalment of the Moghul Paintings covering the School of Jahangir—represented by the specimens which Lady Wantage bequeathed to South Kensington. After the well known Hannah collection of Moghul Paintings went to Washington, the Wantage collection was the only important group of Moghul drawings existing in English private collection. They have been on exhibition at the Indian Section on loan, and have already drawn the attention of connoisseurs as they so well deserve, Mr. Havell having drawn upon them in his 'Handbook' and a short notice have already appeared in the Review of the Museum collection for 1917 (1920, pp. 88-91) when they were first exhibited on loan. The publication (out of an aggregate of 36 paintings and 30 specimens of calligraphy) of thirty examples in a magnificent series of collotype reproductions make them accessible to a wider public interested in the subject. The process of collotype, though not without some drawbacks, is on the whole suitable to translate the quality of miniature paintings. Tending somewhat towards a flatness of effect, it somewhat discounts the quality of depth and modelling and the delicate high lights in white lose their points and values in the process. As an example of the colour schemes of the originals one representative specimen should have been reproduced in colour—but no doubt has been omitted to keep up down the price which is extremely moderate. The importance of these examples for the study of Moghul Painting can be gathered from the fact that they all belong to the time of Jahangir (1605-27) and that twenty-seven of the pictures bear the signature of the artists, many of whom are mentioned by Jahangir in his memoirs and the personal seal of Jahangir (itself a work of art) appears on thirteen of the pictures attesting that they at one time belonged to the Imperial collection. The collection includes works signed by the following artists: 'Alam, Balchand, Daulat, Inayat, Mir Hashim, Nini, and Padarth Sahifa, Banu, Shivdas, Bishandas, Farrukh Beg, Monohor and Mansur, the last four of whom served as court painters to Akbar. In the examples from the pen of the last four we have an admirable opportunity to study a development of their style—particularly that of Monohor and Mansur. Of the two examples of Monohor, the portrait of Jahangir (pl. 1) painted probably in 1605, hardly prepares us for his masterpiece' Parting of Jahangir and Khurrau' in the Johnson Album painted during the reign of Shahjahan. But his extraordinary merits are already attested in his masterpiece of the Jahangir School "Jahangir leading a black buck" (pl. 8) which Havell has rightly characterised as one of the finest genre pictures of the Moghul School. The most interesting feature of the collection is undoubtedly the series of animal studies, many signed by Mansur, which enrich the collection. The Himalayan Cheer pheasant (pl. 16) signed by Mansur is here reproduced. The magnificent study of a wild goat (pl. 13) is signed by Inayat who was eminently qualified to support Ustad

PANEL OF CALLIGRAPHY BY MIR 'ALI OF HERAT.

THE HIMALAYAN CHEER PHEASANT BY USTAD MANSUR.

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Mansur in developing the Moghul School of zoological portraiture. The portraits of princes and courtiers are very well represented in the collection and bear out the reputation of the Jahangir School in this branch. There are two portraits of Emperor Shah Jahan, one signed by Balchand; they must have been executed early in his reign—as the style appertains to that of the Jahangir period. The unsigned example is a particularly fine specimen and has an added interest in the celebrated Peacock Throne which figures in it. The portraits in their technique and manner of realisation represent two distinct manners—one somewhat flat in treatment and conventional—the other somewhat more free, realistic, and pronounced in modelling. Of this latter class—the most characteristic specimen is a portrait of 'an Amir' signed by Balchand which is quite unique. It will easily recall the well-known portrait of Surajmull by Nanha in the collection of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. Both of them are by Hindu artists and are particularly free from any suggestion of Persian influence. They are undoubtedly typical examples of what Havell calls the "Hindu School" at the Moghul Court. They undoubtedly stand on a very different footing from the usual type of Moghul portraiture—particularly in their heavy dark backgrounds, much partaking of European portraits, which throw their modelling in intense relief—in which the calligraphic beauty of the fine outlines so characteristic of the Moghul portraits is lost in a realistic effect imitating that of European oil paintings. It is somewhat difficult to derive this manner of treatment from the later style of the Ajanta School as Havell seeks to do. They must have been inspired by the technique of European painting, many of which Jahangir admired and set his court painters to copy. But none of the portraits of Wantage collection, can rival the unique interest which attaches to the portrait of "Shah Tamasp in solitary confinement" (pl. 18) which for the first time gives evidence of the pen of a lady artist in the Moghul Court. It is signed by Sahifa Banu (the Book Lady) who must have been a Moghul Princess or a person of high rank. Although adopted from an earlier portrait by Agha Mirak, it displays fine original qualities particularly in the noble decorative treatment of the tree in the background. Of the practice of the Moghul Painters to copy and adopt religious subjects from European Paintings, there is an intensive example in the martyrdom of Saint Cecilia signed by Nini. Executed in Western realistic manner it has a peculiar effect in the setting of the characteristic Moghul borders and floral decorations. Of the examples of calligraphy which in the Moghul Court enjoyed a patronage superior to the art of painting itself—two specimens from the pen of well known calligrapher Mir Ali of Herat are reproduced in the portfolio one of which we are enabled to borrow here by the courtesy of the curator. It is believed that during Jahangir's reign Moghul painting attained its zenith. One is naturally inclined to question if the quality of specimens from Jahangir's reign, which go to make up the Wantage collection, can be relied on as valuable evidence of the perfected style of the Jahangir School. If the highest achievement of Moghul School synchronised with the reign of Jahangir, one would hesitate to accept these specimens, as worthy evidence to illustrate the apogee of Moghul style, valuable as these specimens are for study of the work of that period from various points of view. The portraits many of which are admirable specimens of their kind, do not perhaps represent the best efforts of the Jahangir School. The two portraits of Shahjahan—which must be taken to represent the latest phase of the Jahangir school do not realise one's expectations of the quality which this school must have achieved—without forgetting the fact that the portraits of the Shahjahan School attained further heights and developed many qualities of unique distinction and character. The palm of the whole collection will go, no doubt, to the picture of Jahangir leading a black buck rendered with surprising freedom and feeling for the subject, which is not often met with in Moghul paintings. The collection, taken together, offers a unique series of authenticated documents which will help a more intimate study of a phase of Moghul painting than was possible before the present publication, and the Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum has undoubtedly laid all students of Indian Art under a debt of obligation.

THE A B C OF INDIAN ART. BY J. F. BLACKER, WITH 33 HALFTONE PLATES AND NUMEROUS LINE BLOCK ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT. 302 pp. DEMY 8vo. STANLEY PAUL & CO. LONDON. PRICE 15 SHILLINGS NET.

It is somewhat embarrassing to appraise the merits of this publication issued in the well-known A B C series for collectors by an author who has earned a reputation by his excellent A B C guide to Japanese Art. Planned on the same scheme as his guide to Japanese Art it raises expectations which undoubtedly prejudice one's judgment of the author's excursion in a new field. The author certainly does not claim that he has an expert knowledge and understanding of his subject or that his work is the product of a long sustained or intimate study of Indian Art. His outlook curiously reverts to the old "Anglo-Indian" view of Indian Art characteristic of the early Victorian period and is naively oblivious of the change that has been brought about in the recent studies of the subject. Frankly he has approached his subject through the old antiquated guide of Sir George Birdwood—"The Industrial Arts of India" (1889) and a few old numbers of the now defunct 'Journal of Indian Art and Industry'. We do not for a moment depreciate the value of these two publications, which at the time they were published were undoubtedly creditable works. For a study of the

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various historic crafts of India—they are yet indispensible and cannot be superseded by any later publications. They had, however, narrowed and hampered an adequate study of the whole field of Indian Art—particularly its achievement in the sphere of painting and sculpture. And taking his cues from these antiquated publications Mr. Blacker has unhappily deprived himself of a thorough or a comprehensive view of the subject and an opportunity of expressing his independent opinions. Both his matter and his illustrations have suffered by his choice of these guides. A majority of his illustrations are borrowed from Sir George Birdwood's handbook and from the 'Petite Guide' to the Musee Guimet collection. None of his sorry woodcuts of Southern Indian Bronzes can convey the merits of this great school of metal statuary, and the example chosen for the cover is the most degraded specimen of its kind. One wonders if the author had ever seen any copy of "Selected examples of Indian Art" or the "Eleven plates of Indian sculpture" published by the India Society. His chapter on Indian Architecture mainly inspired by Mr. Caine and Birdwood fails to convey anything like an accurate view of the subject either in the letter-press or in the illustration. While he cites a very late Bengalee temple near Calcutta wrongly describing it as a 'mosque' he carefully omits any illustrations from the schools of Orissan Architecture for which, by the way, he has found a picturesque title—"Sanskrit architecture." He cites by accident rather than by choice, in a miserable woodcut, the magnificent colossal image of Buddha from Anuradhapura—but has not a word to say on the great schools of Buddhist sculpture. The chapter on Elephanta, Ellora and Karli Caves also suffer from want of worthy illustrations. A good portion of the 33 half-tone blocks (mainly devoted to third rate Rajput and Moghul miniatures) could have been usefully employed to illustrate a few specimens of Hindu and Buddhist sculpture. Of his illustrations on Indian Painting the Moghul miniatures of the Razmnamah are good—but the omission of a specimen from the Buddhist fresco is not easy to explain. The real merit of the book lies in its fairly complete survey of the crafts and minor arts which are represented by characteristic examples. Indeed the plan of the book is to present Indian Art through its works of Applied Art, and the chapters of the book are devoted to the homes of each of the historic crafts—Amritsar, Delhi, Benares, Lucknow and so forth. And a lot of useful information is compressed under the various branches of the crafts—Arms, Bidri wares, Brass and Copper wares, Carpets, Damascened and inlaid works, Enamels, Lacquer, Woodwork Pottery and Jewellery. The author's treatment of these branches of Indian Art wares will undoubtedly help to revive interest in some of the most important phases of Indian Art which have been somewhat neglected by the exaggerated attention given to Indian Painting and Sculpture for the last few years. In the revival of an industrial era—the forms and the technique of the numerous art-wares and crafts of India practised from remote antiquities deserve adequate study and the author has performed a distinct service to the cause of Indian Art by recalling attention to these branches. This new friend of Indian Art therefore deserves our grateful acknowledgment and we have no doubt the book will find its place in every library in India and serve as an excellent guide to those wishing to make their first acquaintance with the subject. The book would have increased its utility as a work of reference if the author had cited his sources of illustrations giving particulars of the places and collections from which his examples are borrowed. There are a few misdescriptions of the provenance of some of the objects illustrated. The examples on p. 179 and 183 are not sacrificial vase or candlestick from Madura. They are brass temple lamps from Nepal which are very well known from beautiful examples in the possession of many collectors in Calcutta.

THE WOMEN OF THE AJANTA CAVES BY W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON, PRINCIPAL SIR J. J. SCHOOL OF ART, ILLUSTRATED BY SYED AHMED, pp. 22. THE TIMES PRESS, BOMBAY, 1923. PRICE Re. 1.

So much has been said and written about the well-known frescoes of the Ajanta Caves that it is difficult if not impossible to say anything new or illuminating about these exquisite remains of old Indian Paintings. Yet this is the difficult task that Mr. Gladstone has easily accomplished in his charming little brochure on "The Women of the Ajanta Caves." He has not looked at the Painting through the eyes of a scholar, antiquarian or an archæologist. He has studied them with the eyes of a lover of beauty. And his impromptu record of his impressions is a delightful little tribute to the galaxy of ladies—or rather angels who decorate the frescoes with their radiance and their glory. Mr. Gladstone has many illuminating sentences in his little book. We have only space for a few of them: "The Ajanta Artists could adopt conventions for their Buddhas, and had their sacred symbols, and their orthodox attitudes; but their women are always unconventional. They did not pose women, they simply copied their poses. They were content to learn from their gestures; to portray their natures. Women had for them a decorative value, altogether too precious to be diminished by laws. She was outside the laws of Art for she made them. They learned from her. They struggled to reproduce every turn of her head, every curve of her form, every glance of her eye. She enthralled them with her airs and graces, enmeshed them in the mysteries of her toilet more strongly than does the Parisienne, the painter of to-day. They produced tirelessly and with a discriminating knowledge her bewildering coiffures; they decked her in painstaking manner with the most beautiful trinkets they could devise. Why

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they could not paint *Her*, then they painted her pearls and ornaments all round their columns. I can think of no parallel to this frank and chivalrous woman-worship of Ajanta. Nowhere else perhaps has Woman received such a perfect and understanding homage." The essay is illustrated by three charming woodcuts after tracings of the frescoes by Syed Ahmed, the curator of the caves which greatly enhance the beauty of this neatly got up and interesting little booklet. Mr. Gladstone deserves the highest praise from all lovers of Indian Art for presenting them with such a beautiful and illuminating souvenir of his visit to an old shrine of Indian Art.

NOTES.

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OURSELVES.—In issuing the new number for the present year, *Rupam* owes an explanation to its readers and subscribers. Its belated appearance has become such a constant feature that it has ceased by this time to tax the patience of its readers. While it is not a newspaper and does not derive its interest by the mere novelty or up-to-dateness of its information—some regularity in its appearance is obligatory and although the management has not been punctual it has not wholly offended against regularity. When our readers complain about our unpunctuality (for which no amount of apologies can be sufficient) it may be useful to remember that our numbers have actually appeared at regular intervals of three months excepting on the present occasion. We have been handicapped from the beginning having to put in appearance with our January number on the 19th of March 1920. The second number which was due three months later, *viz.*, on the 19th June was actually issued on the 5th July 1920. Our January number for 1922 appeared on the 2nd March 1922 still carrying the arrears of three months on its back with which the first number started. Our April number for the last year appeared on the 21st June 1922 and the July number on the 18th September 1922. The October number due really on the 18th December last had been lying ready but could not be issued until the first week of January owing to the difficulty in connection with the Government grant which makes this publication possible. As a matter of fact even at the time when we are going to press for this number, the subsidy has not been actually received and the management have had considerable difficulty in making the present number ready. With a view to work off the three months' handicap which has been imposed from the first issue—we have resorted to the expediency of issuing a double number combining the January and April issues which will now take us to end of June—thus giving us a chance of issuing the July number on the 1st of July next. The combination of the two numbers deprive our readers of one frontispiece which we are sure our readers will not grudge considering the punctuality this double number is designed to ensure. The strain on the management can only be relieved by our friends and subscribers if they will help us to make the financial position independent of official help. If the roll of subscribers could be raised to a decent number a punctual appearance could be guaranteed. We have called attention to the responsibilities of our Indian friends in our "Notes" in the last number and can only recall our readers' attention to the matter. We are receiving frequent correspondence from Indians living abroad that our Journal is performing a creditable function in pressing to attention the spiritual and the æsthetic claims of Indian civilization before the public interested in Art in various parts of the world. A letter from an Indian in New York is typical of hosts of similar letters that come to us: "As a constant reader of your publication *Rupam* obtained from your New York agent, I am very much impressed with the work done by you in acquainting the Western world with phases of art purely Indian". A letter from the head of a well-known museum in America is worth quoting:—"I have been much interested in your publication *Rupam*. As a student of Oriental Art and particularly of Far Eastern Art, I appreciate the scholarly and excellent articles which appear in it. Being an adopted pupil of Okakura, who presented me with part of his name (Okakatana), I naturally feel the significance which the early art of India plays in the whole early art of the Far East".

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DR. GOLOUBEW ON THE ART OF INDO-CHINA.—It is somewhat risky to comment on the lecture which Dr. Goloubew delivered before the India Society, without the full text before us. But the subject is of such captivating interest and so little studied that it is difficult to resist a few remarks. In the printed summary of the lecture, the historical background is chiefly dealt with, though a few comments are offered by way of criticism of the art of Indo-China. The story of the first colonisation of the Pacific coast of Indo-China by a Bramhin named Kaundinya in the first century A. D. is an event full of mystery and romance. The tradition is set forth in many inscriptions,—the first of which is the third inscription of Mi-So'n dated 658 A. D. The Bramhin, probably identical with the *rishi* of the same name celebrated

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in the epics, married the naga princess, whom the inscription calls Soma and a royal dynasty was founded known as the 'Soma-Kaundinya-Vamsha'. That this legend is endorsed in the Chinese annals of Tsin dynasty which also mention Kaundinya (houent'ien) and which are earlier than the inscriptions seems to impart an historical authenticity to the local tradition which the inscriptions echo and repeat. Anyhow this dynasty came to be known subsequently as the 'Kambu-Vansha', and the tract, as the 'Kambudesha' and the inhabitants came to be known as Kambujas (Cambodians). It was therefore a Bramhin colony and the earliest texture of the civilization of the colony was Bramhinic and Hindu and not Buddhistic. The culture and civilization thus founded maintained its integrity and the peculiarly significant point to note is that it was uninfluenced for many centuries by any touch of Chinese influence notwithstanding the proximity of a well developed and powerful Chinese culture. Scholars are very often inclined to emphasise the so-called Chinese elements in the art of Cambodia and Indo-China and to ignore and minimise the esentially Hindu and Bramhinic character of the texture of this distant Indian colony on the Pacific coast. And Dr. Goloubew deserves the thanks of all Indianists for emphasising these significant facts connected with the art and civilization of Indo-China. The learned doctor himself however seems to relapse to what appears to us an obvious misconception. He remarks: "The art of Cambodia reveals profound Hindu influence". There can be no question of 'influence' here. The art and the civilization of Cambodia formed an integral part of the art and civilization of the Indian continent. It is the extreme and the outlying frontiers of the civilization of Greater India stretching itself to the Eastern shores. It is nevertheless the very limb of a large Indian continent—organically related to the main trunk. There is no doubt that the local primitive culture of the Pacific coast was overrun, transmuted and absorbed in the very texture of Indian civilization—but to characterise the resultant of the process as a product bearing the mere polish of 'Hindu influence' on the substratum of a local culture is to understate the facts of history. The culture that planted itself in the Pacific coast was the very outstretching limb of India herself—with her civilization and culture bodily transplanted along with her princes, priests and people, with all the paraphernalia of its social, political, religious and æsthetic structures, Dr. Goloubew himself concedes this. "It is quite possible" he says "that priests, exiles and merchants came from India and settled on the coast of the peninsula"...There is one significant fact which the great Russian savant has omitted to mention. It is the organic connection of the Pacific colony with the people of the lower gangetic valley. We have actual records in the Chinese annals of the constant intercourse of Bengal with Indo-China. We have the name of an Indian King of Champa who actually renounced his crown in favour of his nephew in order to pass the rest of his life in meditation on the banks of the Ganges. He may have been a Bengali and the connection of Bengal with Indo-China deserves further study. The point we are now concerned with is that the earliest phases of the civilization in Indo-China—is not an Indianised Cham culture but the very original text of Hindu culture itself.

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THE PUNJAB FINE ART EXHIBITION.—That the Punjab has at last got a Fine Art Society which held its first exhibition this year at the Mayo School of Art is a matter of some congratulation. Indeed the Society has not been founded a day sooner. The Lahore Museum is the repository of a collection old and unique specimens of Rajput and Kangra pictures which has no rival in any other part of India. The study of this fine group of old pictures was sure to inspire a new movement and it is somewhat of a surprise that this new movement has not come as yet. In its vice-principal Mr. S. N. Gupta (a former pupil of Dr. A. N. Tagore) the Mayo School of Art was expected to furnish the lead towards a movement for a local school of painting which is yet to come. The works of A. R. Chugtai a pupil of Mr. Gupta are no doubt very well known by the prolific number of his exhibits which figure in all Indian Exhibitions but one swallow does not make a summer. And it is hoped that the local society now founded chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Lionel Heath the Principal of the Mayo School of Art, will be able to inspire local talents to do their best and build up a "new" school with individual and original qualities. One of the most interesting features of the first exhibition was the contribution made from the artists from Calcutta chiefly the pupils of the Indian Society of Oriental Art who are specialising in a development of painting in the Indian style. The comments in a local paper on the exhibition are very interesting reading: "Pictures in Indian style form a large part of the entries at the Punjab Fine Art Society Exhibition and generally speaking it may be said that the work of Indian exhibitors is superior to that of European both in conception and in execution. European work is mostly of the sketch type pleasing effects being obtained without great effort, especially where tinted paper has been used. The Indian work on the other hand shows more industry, care, and finish, while in some cases the technique is excellent. Consequently a large proportion of prizes have been carried off by Indian artists, and doubtless the name of Mr. Gupta would have been added to the list of Indian prize-winners were it not that he is a member of the committee, the members of which by a self-denying ordinance imposed by themselves are ineligible for prizes. His Excellency the Governor's prize was, it is understood originally intended for the best picture in the exhibition, but the judging committee found great difficulty

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in resolving the conflicting claims of pictures painted in totally different styles, and finally obtained His Excellency's approval to the allocation of his prize to the best group of pictures. If the above, however, was the real difficulty it does not seem to be materially lessened by giving the prize to a group instead of to an individual picture. In any case, unless in future, clear distinction be drawn between works in European style and works in Indian style, difficulties will arise sooner or later, and the suggestion is offered that the schedule of prizes be so drawn that these two styles may not have to compete against each other." It is evident that the Indian style of painting made popular by the Bengal School is holding its own against the class of pictures painted in "European style." Indeed the quality of Indian pictures painted in Indian style by Indians has offered very embarrassing problems to the committee vested with the duty of awarding prizes on the merits of the quality of the different class of exhibits. We do not quite like the idea suggested in the report quoted above of segregating the Indian and the "European style" pictures. They should rub shoulders with each other and take their chance on the sheer quality of their respective merits. After all pictures of all schools considered as works of art, irrespective of their divergence of quality, treatment and point of view—are at bottom one and the same, and their apparent contradictions should not be allowed to obscure their fundamental unity. So far as the present exhibition is concerned it is a little triumph for Bengal and Calcutta particularly, for the Punjab Government's prize for the best picture in Indian style by an Indian has been won by Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar who, by the way, is the head teacher of the School of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

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By the courtsey of Messrs. Luzac & Co.

SOME MUSSALMAN ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTS.—By the courtesy of Messrs. Luzac & Co., the well-known Oriental publishers of London, we are enabled to reproduce here a very interesting group of plaster ornaments which evidently come from some Indian mosques. The one illustrated at the bottom of this note is of special interest on account of its floral decorations. Its diameter is 14¼ inches. It comes from an Indian mosque (unidentified) of the twelfth century A.D. The Arabic inscription inside the circular panel reads: "They said, we are the possession of Allah, and to him we shall return" (Koran, Surah II, 151). The floral decoration round the border—which seemed to have been derived from the conventionalised forms of jasmines are common in later Moghal decoration. The absence of decorations in the group of the other examples reproduced in the plate opposite would certainly push the dates of the latter to an earlier period. It is not easy to trace the history of these peculiar forms of Mussalman architectural decorations, technically called "riquabs." Their earliest ancestors are perhaps the rosettes in stucco with Arabic inscriptions occurring in the tenth

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century Fatimite mosques of Cairo *e.g.* those of El-Akmar (*vide* Saladin). Rosettes with floral and geometrical decorations, both in stone and stucco, are very frequent in the later Saracenic mosques of Egypt, *e.g.* of Suyurghatmish and Sultan Hassan (fourteenth century). But hardly any of them are known to have employed any motifs of sacred inscriptions as in the Indian examples here cited. Inscriptions worked decoratively in the form or rosettes occur, however, on the wooden Ragah of the palace of the Amir-Bectak in Cairo, attributed to the fourteenth century. The Indian specimens therefore stand intermediate between the two Egyptian specimens, though they cannot be said to be derived directly from either of them. Rosettes as architectural ornaments are very frequent in Indian architecture and have a very long ancestory. They correspond to the "bosses" of Gothic architecture, and all schools of architecture appear to have developed special forms independent of each other. Thus rosettes, with lotus motifs, occur as early as the third century B. C.—on the rails of Bharhut and Sanchi. These rosettes or medallions survive through the later centuries, and are adopted and take their place in the earliest Indian mosques. They have a special place assigned to them namely on either side of the arches. These rosettes or medallions with lotus motif, figure on the arches of the Kutb mosque at Delhi (early thirteenth century), on the gateway of Ala-ud-din Khiliji (1310 A. D.) They are very prominent on the entrance of the Atala Devi mosque at Jaunpur (fourteenth century). In Fatehpur Sikri and in all later Moghul architecture they have become indispensible ornaments of a *Mirhab* (Smith, Fatehpur Sikri, Part IV, pl. XLII). And one is tempted to suggest that this old Indian circular decoration may have inspired the inscribed rosettes in plaster which accompany these notes. The fact that the Indian lotus discs preserve their integrity on the Moghul *Mirhabs* where they could be easily transformed to carry Arabic texts—as in the Fatimite mosques of the ninth century, seems to preclude any connection between this class of Mahommedan ornaments with the earlier Indian parallels occurring on the Buddhist monuments. The words inscribed in the form of monograms in the five examples of "riquabs" reproduced in the group are the well-known formula of Mahommedan creed: "Lâ Ilaha Illa u'llàh Wa Mahammad ur Rasul-u-'llah (There is no other God but God, and Mohammad is his Prophet).

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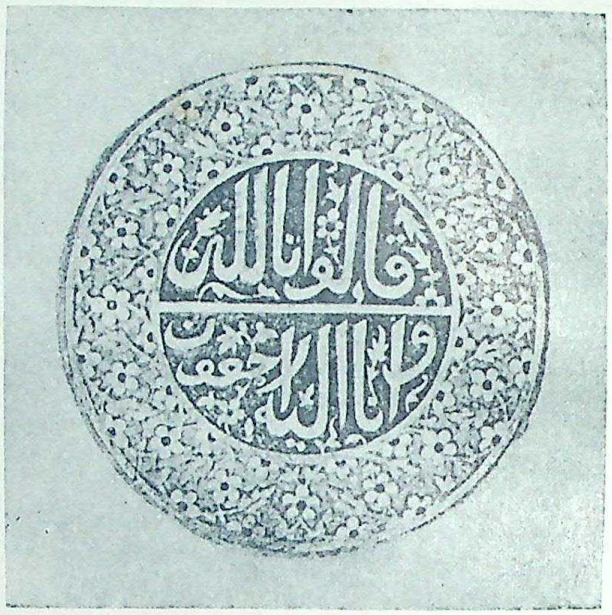
"THE BEACON".—Of the crop of new monthlies that have pushed their heads in English Journalism recently, *The Beacon* edited by E. R. Appleton distinctly strikes a new note. The aims of the Journal are thus set forth: "In art, in literature, in philosophy our message is one of hope. The time has gone by when culture could retire into a cloistral seclusion. Life is one and life is calling for volunteers. No more inspiring call has ever sounded to mankind than this that they should have life and have it more



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abundantly." But it is another feature of the Journal which offers a new point of view. The general run of English periodicals cultivate a studied silence on any topics connected with India, this new journal has started a special Indian section. "*The Beacon* standing as it does for idealism cannot but recognize the peculiar significance, in this respect, of the ancient civilization of India. India possesses a religion which is one of the most spiritual the world has known, and the study of her history, her people, her art and literature repay richly any one who takes the trouble to pierce the fog of prejudice and misconception that hangs about the subject. It is in apathy that the danger lies of a final drifting apart spiritual as well as political, of England and India. Once the two peoples could meet with imaginative sympathy and look for the best instead of the worst in each other, misunderstanding and race hatred would soon be left behind and a true and lasting partnership would ensue. Believing that with more knowledge would come ever increasing mutual sympathy, *The Beacon* is starting a monthly Indian section. Art, Literature, education, religion, social conditions and any movement that tends to further and better understanding between East and West will receive special attention. In short, *The Beacon* wants to help English people to know more about India, and Indians about England for if the East has a good deal to learn from the West, the West has also much to learn from the East." We wish the new Journal all success in its new mission.

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Chiefly Indian

Edited by

ORDHENDRA C. GANGOLY

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I.—THE ART OF CHAMPA.*

SILHOUETTED in magnificent contrast against a series of the harsh and rigid horizontal lines'—drawn in sacred obedience to some hoary and immutable canon,—a mysterious "human form divine"—has flowered out in sweet and supple contours—expressed in terms of a series of rhythmic curves held together in exquisite equilibrium. The rattling array of formidable straight lines in the back ground dies away, as it were, at the threshold of this shrine of voluptuous curves—which seem to bar the intrusion of the profanity of straight lines—even as the frowns of a proud Bramhin-priest chide away the ambitious steps of a pariah worshipper from the door of the 'holy of the holies.' Indeed if we carefully analyse the composition of this figure in our plate opposite—our hyperboles seem to more than justify themselves. From the tapering *karanda-mukuta* at the top to the melting movements of the legs—a whole succession of curves are employed to spell out a wonderfully rhythmic figure. The crown decorated with a series of curves terminates in a curve and sits on the forehead to trace a pair of melting curves under the shadow of which the pair of eyebrows and the eyes express themselves in a few more curves. The lips, the chin and the outline of the neckbones echo each other in a ripple of curves which are reflected in those of the triple-string necklace. The gesture of the right arm is posed in another sweet curve and terminates in a finger-play (*mudra*). which seems to mimic the curves of a lotus flower. The somewhat short curves of the upper trunk are balanced by the long and graduated curves of the lower anatomy and the waist—the length of which is bisected by the langorous curve of the left arm which bends into a very significant gesture. From below the rounded left shoulder, springs another curve in long gradual growth exposing the fine contour of the thigh and the knee. From underneath the shadows of the swinging arm in surging rhythm emerge a series of waving pearl-strings gently following the soft and delicate contours of the waist, the hips and the thighs. It is a little sea of curves, arranged in subtle and organized ripples. But what mysterious figure are these delicately poised curves designed to spell? Is it a *devadasi* or a dancing *apsara*—a nymph of the Indian heaven? The heavenly coronet suggests the latter, for the *karanda-mukuta* is destined only for Vishnu, Sakti and other heavenly beings. But the form of an *apsara* is often deduced by the old Indian artist from his studies of the danseuses who offer themselves to the gods at the temples. And the carver of this image may have well borrowed this dream picture from the memory of his younger days when he loved to follow with eager eyes the gyrations of his favourite *devadasi* who so often mingled her hymn of dance-gestures with the chant of the priests and the waving flames of the *Karpura-arati* at the evening solemnities of the neighbouring temple. It has been one of the incorrigible habits of Indian Art—that its designs quickly stereotype into sacred formulas eagerly sought after and exploited by generations of artists who are never weary of repeating them in new or elaborate versions. And the nascent conception of a *sthapaty* to-day becomes a hoary precedent from to-morrow. And we shall be grievously misled if we believe that this form of the dancing figure in our full-plate is the original conception of the actual carver of this piece. In spite of all its freshness and spontaneity—it carefully but respectfully transcribes an ancient precedent hallowed by the practice of nearly a century. But before we refer to its earlier forms, let us discuss its provenance. Where could it have come from? We should not be far wide of the mark if we suggested that it is a fragment of a *ratha* or processional car belonging to the Sârangapâni temple at Kumbakonam. To call it a frieze from the walls of one of the earliest Chalukyan temples will not be a wild guess. To attribute it to one of the 'jewelled pedestals' or *ratna vedis* of one or other of the Orissan shrines will not be incorrect either. Yet this piece, in fine grey stone, comes neither from the western ghauts, the banks of the Cavery, nor from the old *Kalinga-desha*. It hails from the Pacific coast and undoubtedly belonged to one of the earliest monuments of that distant outpost of Hindu civilization in the Far East. By the courtesy of the publishers we are enabled to borrow the plate from M. H. Parmentier's "Les Sculptures Chames au Musée de Tourane" issued as the fourth volume of *Ars Asiatica* under the direction of Dr. V. Golouhew. A study of the sculptures of old Champâ (Chame) one of the oldest Hindu colonies in Indonesia which this publication has facilitated is likely to throw many new lights on the problems of Indian Art in the main continent and a proper appreciation of the status of the Art of old Champâ is destined to shift the specific gravity of the study of Indian Art to the Indian remains in the Far East. As M. Parmentier very appropriately points out: "Hitherto the Art of India has been very much studied from records of India itself.....We should now search a part of Indian Art, by no means the

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least part of it, outside Hindustan ("On a jusqu' ici trop étudiè l'art de l'Inde par l'Inde même..... Il faudra donc aller chercher une partie de l'art Indien, et non des moindres, hors de l'Hindoustan.)" The art of Java, Sumatra, Bali and Champâ furnish some of the most remarkable—but unfortunately some of the missing—pages of the history of Indian Art on Indian soil. To quote M. Parmentier again, the arts of Indonesia and the Indian Colonies "appear to furnish a collection of architectural forms and a series of incomparable sculptural representations which have not their equivalents in India proper (il parait nous furnir tout un ensemble d'architecture et une série incomparable de representations figurées qui n'ont pas leurs équivalents dans l'Inde propre.") While we do not subscribe entirely to the correctness of this generalisation—much of it is incapable of dispute. While the art of Java, Siam and Cambodia have become well-known, particularly in their outstanding monuments,—the art of Champâ is very little known to Indianists or the students of Indian Art. And the facts connected with its history and the unique monuments which have been brought to light by the assiduous labours of M.M. Coedé, Huber, Finot, Parmentier and other French savants are known only to a few archæologists and amateurs whose studies lead to this obscure corner of Indian history. And Dr. Goloubew, with characteristic pride, is entitled to carp at the serious neglect of the valuable data for the study of the art of Champâ on the part of Fergusson, Vincent Smith and Havell none of whom has a word to say on this very interesting and unique phase of Indian culture. . . . .

The archæology of Champâ and its monuments derive somewhat unique interest from its unexpected antiquity, outrivalling the monuments of Java and Angkor and from the survival of the remains of some of the most ancient structural Hindu temples that have been known to exist and survive to the present day. As M. Parmentier has suggested that if we except some of the Gupta temples, which undoubtedly belong to the fourth century, the architecture of India has nothing to offer anterior to the temples of Champâ. We shall presently examine this claim in all its bearing, but it will be useful to indicate in broad outlines the data offered by the researches of eminent French archæologists in the field of old Champâ. It is not so well known that one of the earliest inscriptions in Sanskrit has been contributed by this distant Indian Colony. This remarkable epigraph discovered in the village of Vo-Canh in the territory of Nha-trang in Champâ (modern Annam) is as old as third century A. D. and mentions an Indian King named Sri-mâra who was (at least a century before) in possession of an Indian Kingdom on the shores of the Pacific. We have already in our notes in the last number, alluded to the old tradition mentioned in the Chinese annals, which ascribe the first foundation of an Indian King in Champâ to a Bramhin named Kaundinya. That Hindu civilization had established itself in Champâ as early as the first century of the Christian era is a fact which cannot be disputed having regard to the corroboration which the records of Champâ receive from those of China. It is pretty nearly certain, having regard to the exchange of embassies between this Hindu Kingdom and the Chinese courts—that this Hindu Colony offered a stubborn resistance to the Chinese expansion in Ton Kin. This Kingdom lasted as late as the fifteenth century when Champâ fell to the Annamite invaders. One of the most interesting features of this Indian Kingdom lies in the fact that it was essentially Hindu and Shaivaite in its character and Buddhism is but poorly represented in its records and monuments. After Srimâra who must have lived about the first or second century A. D. the next important King is Bhadravarman I who has left several inscriptions from which we learn that about 400 A. D. the King built the first temple dedicated to a Shiva lingam which came to be known as Bhadresvara and the temple became the national sanctuary of Champâ. Although this temple, most probably of wooden construction, does not now exist, having been burnt about 575 A. D., the site can be identified—amongst the group of sanctuaries at Mi-so'n having been rebuilt by King Shambhuvarman in 629 A. D. Ever since the time of Bhadravarman Mi-so'n became a sacred national site which has been embellished and studded with temples by successive kings whose inscriptions come as far down as 1157 A. D. Mi-so'n marks the site of the old capital of Indrapura probably named after King Indravarman. About the ninth century Mi-so'n was abandoned and the capital moved further South at Virapura. Interest revived in Mi-so'n during the reign of Jaya Harivarman who repaired the temples in 1155 after which the Annamites plundered the temples and Mi-so'n must have been finally abandoned. There is another important site close to Mi-so'n which figures in the history of Champâ. It is a small village now known as Trâ-Kiéu only a few miles from Mi-so'n. It is the site of some important sanctuaries and the place was once known as Sinhapura and was evidently a political and religious centre. The next important site rich in Hindu remains is Dong-Duong (lit., a 'punya bhumi,' or a sacred site) a little south of Trâ-Kiéu. The capital of the Champâ kings moved from time to time, according to the pressure of the Annamite invasion and moved to Binh-dinh—at the centre (Vijayapura) and later on in the extreme South in the province of Binh Thuan with capital at Phanarang (Panduranga). Another seaside city near the South called Po Nagara (or Yapu-nagara) has figured in the religious history of Champâ from very early times and contains the remnants of various important temple-architectures of Champâ. It is chiefly celebrated as the centre of the cult of Bhaghavati who is supposed to be the Indianised form of

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a primitive local deity appropriated to the worship of Shiva. It figures in the inscriptions as early as the ninth century. Thus we have in Champâ the record of the earliest temple erected in honour of Shiva—whether in or outside India proper. The temples at Mi-so'n, some of which are still in a fair state of preservation, are older than any temple found in any part of Indonesia and as M. Parmentier claims, older than any structural temples in any part of India itself. They are all made of bricks with stone facings and decorations here and there. The use of this material itself points to a period earlier than any construction in stones. They therefore represent a stage in the history of Indian temple-architecture when the brick had not yet been translated into stone. The temples themselves have a peculiar design and form both in their interior construction and on their outer façades and silhouettes which appear unique in the history of Indian temples, having no parallel anywhere, and M. Parmentier can well claim that this was a special contribution made by the artists of Champâ to Indian Art. The principal character of this temple lies in the horizontal "vimânas" (called locally "Kalans") often richly carved and in the series of storied towers receding towards the finial. It is apparent therefore that both from the point of view of antiquity and the special features of the architectural remains, the monuments of old Champâ offer a rich store of fruitful materials the examination of which is likely to furnish a new orientation to the study of Indian Art. In the publication now before us only the sculpures of Chame—as derived from the collection of the Museum of Tourane, a little north of Mi-so'n, are dealt with. But M. Parmentier has in various previous publications, particularly in his excellent '*Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams de L'Annam*' exhaustively treated all the archæological and architectural relics in Champâ. The learned chief of the Archæological service of "L'Ecole Francaise D'Extrême Orient" at Hanoi has devoted over 20 years of uninterrupted studies of Chame archæology and the specialised knowledge that he has gathered by an intimate acquaintance with the monuments spread over such a length of time invests his works and his conclusions with an authority which very few are qualified to challenge. Indeed the service that he has rendered to the cause of an obscure and little known, yet, one of the most important and interesting chapters of the history of Indian civilization is invaluable. The scope of the present publication is to represent the principal figure sculptures from the Chame monuments which are collected in the Tourane Museum from the various sites mentioned above, in a beautiful series of phototype plates with descriptive notes for each specimen preceded by a preliminary notice dealing with the general position and history of the art of Champâ. The author has already published in the Bulletin of the 'French School' a careful catalogue of these sculptures and his notes in this volume are only supplementary to those embodied in his catalogue. For obvious reasons much of his conclusions and studies of Chame Art embodied in his two volumes of 'Inventaires' with two magnificent sets of plates could not be incorporated in the present publication. But it will be necessary for us to refer to the same in discussing the sculptures here illustrated. M. Parmentier divided the monuments of Chame Art in three sections or periods. The first the 'early period' which he characterises as "art primitif" dating from the sixth to the end of tenth century. The second period which he designates as "art classique" covered by the eleventh and the twelfth centuries and the third period which is covered by the thirteenth to the fifteenth century which he terms "l'Art derivè." The early period embraces two parallel forms—one of the light airy local style of Champâ and a thick set square style analogous to some Javanese forms which the author picturesquely calls "l'Art cubique." The classic period represents the over ripe type with rigid features lacking the resources and fertility of the early period. In the third period an attempt was made to revert to the earlier style resulting in an archaistic form lamentable in its poverty of ideas as of technique. As we have seen, M. Parmentier claims that the form of Champan architecture was unique and unprecedented in the history of Indian Art. It must be conceded that in the silhouette and the general effect, the Chame temples have apparently no precedents in any known Indian prototypes—but it is possible on an analysis of its component parts to demonstrate how these elements which go to make up the ensemble of Chame architecture, have been derived from Indian precedents. We must reserve the discussion of this phase of Chame architecture for another occasion and confine ourselves to an examination of the claims of Chame sculpture here. The position of the antiquity of the Shaivaite sanctuaries of Mi-so'n require some elucidation with reference to the sculptures which they have yielded. As has been seen that some of the actual relics from Mi-so'n date as early as the seventh century, M. Parmentier, however, would like to date some of the pieces a little earlier. They are therefore almost contemporary with the art of the Pallavas on the Coromondal Coast. Generally speaking they do not share any of the outstanding features of Pallava art. The decorative lions and lion's heads from Trâ-Kiéu (of which a few characteristic specimens are illustrated in Plates VII and VIII) cannot be said to have been derived from the examples of lions at the Seven Pagodas, though they bear the general consanguinity of an Indian lineage. The images of Shiva, Ganesha or Kârtikeya—some magnificent examples of which have been bequeathed by the artists of Champâ (Plates XXII, XXIII, XXIV) do not offer any direct affiliation to the models of Pallava sculptures. Since the sculptures from Mi-so'n and the neighbouring sites

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executed during the seventh and eighth century cannot be paralleled with any phase of the contemporary Indian Art at the Seven Pagodas, M. Parmentier claims that the originality of the artists of Champa in designing these unique forms must be conceded without reserve. From the iconographic point of view, M. Parmentier does not claim that the images of these deities were first "pictured" by artists on the Pacific coasts. Yet one or two images which are identified as Shiva do offer special characters of local conception (Plate XXII). M. Parmentier builds his conclusion on the premises that, excepting the flat-roofed Gupta temples (which do not affect the problem), India has no structural temples to offer anterior to the date of the Shiva temples of Champâ. And, secondly, as the contemporary Pallava Art does not offer much in the way of comparative data—the unique achievement of Champâ sculpture and architecture is incontestable. The author does not go into this matter with any elaboration in the present work—but we take it that he has not resiled from his conclusions recorded in the second volume of his *Inventaire* published in 1918.

After scrutinising the forms of Javanese and Cambodian and Siamese architecture for any possible affinity to the forms of Chame architecture the author has come to the conclusion that neither in any elements of the composition nor in any decorations or ornaments, the Khmér Art or Siamese Art does not offer any character from which Chame architecture could be said to have been deduced. Turning to the architectural forms of India proper for a possible derivation, the author is led to remark that we find among the general forms of "Hindu Art" two precise enough characteristics which are antagonistic to the conception of Chame Art: "(1) Almost always the Hindu sanctuary, if it is composed as a *kalan* of a closed narrow cell surmounted by a formidable tower, there, devotes all the importance to the pyramid at the expense of the body of the edifice itself. (2) The sanctuary is not presented as an isolated structure but it is ordinarily preceded by a lighted hall, more or less important, which in the south sometimes take an enormous development. The monument which approaches the most the form of Chame *kalan* is the old sanctuary at Bodh-Gaya which perhaps as the only example in India, raises itself as an isolated structure." (*Inventaire*, Vol. II p. 485). We can hardly offer here anything by way of criticism of the comparative view that the learned archæologist takes, of the general features of Indian and Chame temples. The distinction of the silhouette of a typical Chame and of a Hindu Brahminical temple is obvious and one cannot be said to be derived directly from the other. It is possible, however, to trace the evolution of the special forms of Chame temple from elements in the Indian soil. The Chame examples represent the perpetuation of forms which have now disappeared from India itself and the special forms of Chame architecture acquire immense value for the study of a missing page in the history of Indian architecture. But as we have said, we shall reserve the discussion of the origin of Chame architecture for another occasion. We will follow here the comparison of the author of the decorative elements which constitute Chame architecture with their Indian prototypes. "We should not insist too much," says M. Parmentier "on the complicated decorations which vary from one region to another; in any case we do not meet any of the typical elements of Chame Art, the play of the simple pilasters profiled against the mouldings—the forms so special of the applied decorations and the 'piece d'accent.' Only the particles of composition is in all India analogous to the particles of Chames more than of Java or Cambodge. Let us withhold now the identity of the mode of construction, the similarity of certain general decorations as the frieze of the hanging garlands that one traces already on the pillars of the caves, the remarkable consanguinity of the floral decorations of certain sculptures of the temples of Orissa of which the special silhouette is, on the other hand, so elongated by those of the Chame edifices, and it is there—in these elements so general—that we trade the only real relationship." (*Inventaire*, Vol. II p. 486). "The Indian civilization appears to have been imported into Indo-China about the first century of our era. It is then with the Hindu monuments from the 1st century to the 8th and the anterior edifices that we should compare the early edifices of Champâ. But unhappily the comparison is not easy: the period is long enough and it is, on the whole, so little known. Rails of stupa, 'caves,' 'raths' do not appear to furnish us with any information which resemble the relationship to a structure of light construction. If we except the inclination for 'les toitres courbes,' any of the typical elements of this architecture, notably the characteristic 'arc-outrepasse' does not appear in the early Chame monuments—any typical mo'ifs of these cannot be traced in the old Indian forms. It appears then impossible to discover there the originals of Chame Art" (*Ibid* p. 487-88). Before we proceed to examine the above conclusion we should like to repeat that the ensemble and the general effect of a typical Chame *kalan* in its characteristic feature is unique in the history of Indian architecture—the forms on Indian soil surviving to-day do not offer any direct models from which the Chame temples could be said to be lineally descended. And the originality of the construction of this special form is one of the glories of the Chame artists. If we proceed, however, to examine piece-meal the component elements and the decorative motifs and the sculptural ornamentation which go to make up the ensemble of Chame temples—we have evidence at every step of the debt of the Chame artist to Indian models. With the single exception of a peculiar form of dragon (Plate XII, Nos. 42, 3 & 5) (which

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is neither Chinese nor Indian) all the animal motifs which figure in Chame Art strictly follow the Indian precedents. The *makaras*, the conventionalised lion heads, the rampant lions chiefly figuring at the corners of structures and pedestals have each their prototypes on Indian monuments. Some of these motifs are indeed associated with some of the earliest structures at Mi-so'n which are as old as seventh century and M. Parmentier could well claim by virtue of this antiquity that these forms were the original inventions of Chame artists as excepting the lion, the other motifs do not figure in the contemporary art of Pallava. The *makara* finials (Pl. IX. Nos. 39, 5, 31, 2, Pl. X) from Trâ-Kieu (an old side north of Mi-so'n) appears in forms identical with those met with in the Orissan temples 9th to 13th century) and perform almost similar functions. The use of lion motifs is however very frequent in the early Chalukyan temples, some of which are, as we shall presently see, earlier than the earliest existing structures at Mi-so'n. The *makara* is an important feature in the ornamentation of the sixth century temples of India. In this connection the *makara torana* which in many variations occurs in the Mi-so'n monuments deserves special notice. Take for example the rhomboid forms of this arch which crown the two niches on either side of the pedestal from Mi-so'n [Temple E_1, (Planche IV)]. These *toranas* are perilously near the forms we frequently meet with in Orissan and Gaudian architecture. But in an earlier phase they are also met with in the Early Chola temples from which they have travelled to Ceylon. On the facades of the Guhanâthaswâmi temple near Cape Comorin the *makara torana* occurs in very elaborately carved tympans on which figure panels of groups of Bramha, Vishnu and Siva. But it is useless to challenge the antiquity of this form as it occurs at Mi-so'n by appealing to Chola structures of the tenth or eleventh century. Happily we have evidences of the motif in its earlier stages of evolution on the temples of Pattadakal and Aihole. On the doorway of an old temple at Aihole we have the *makara torana* perhaps in its nascent stage. The long conventionalised tail in the shape of an elaborate foliage is already the principal feature of the design (Fig. 2). The second stage is evident from the examples on the Virupâksha temple at Pattadakal (VII to VIII Cent.). The temple at Aihole at the south-west corner of the village is according to Mr. Cousin, earlier than the sixth century. Two other features of this temple deserve notice: The ornamental foliage motif on the two sides of the entrance are interlaced with human forms which remind one of similar motifs in the architectural decoration of Cambodge and also of the like earlier motif in Chame architecture; one characteristic example comes from Trâ-Kieu (Pl. V). This interlaced human motif occurs in many Bramhim temples in India and has specialised in a form both in Sinhalese or Orissan ornaments under the name of *nara* and *narilata* (man-creeper and the woman-creeper). Our old Indian temple facade, incidentally offers, another interesting motif —a pair of *mangala kalasa* (auspicious vases) with foliages which will easily recall the example from Quâng-tri reproduced in M. Parmentier's volume (Pl. VI). As the learned archæologist suggests, this form is as old as some of the earliest motif of Amaravati and Sanchi and Chame Art could not claim it as its own special product. We will now examine the ornaments and arabesques decorations which M. Parmentier claims as "motifs propre a' l'art Cham." At first sight one is inclined to

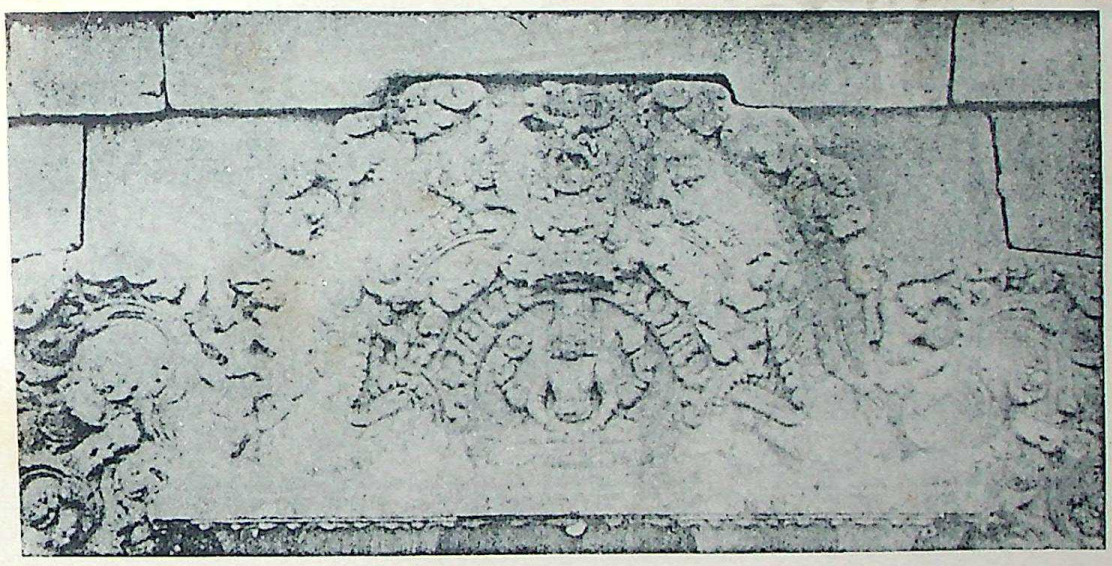

Fig. I Guhanathaswami Temple, Comorin
10th Century

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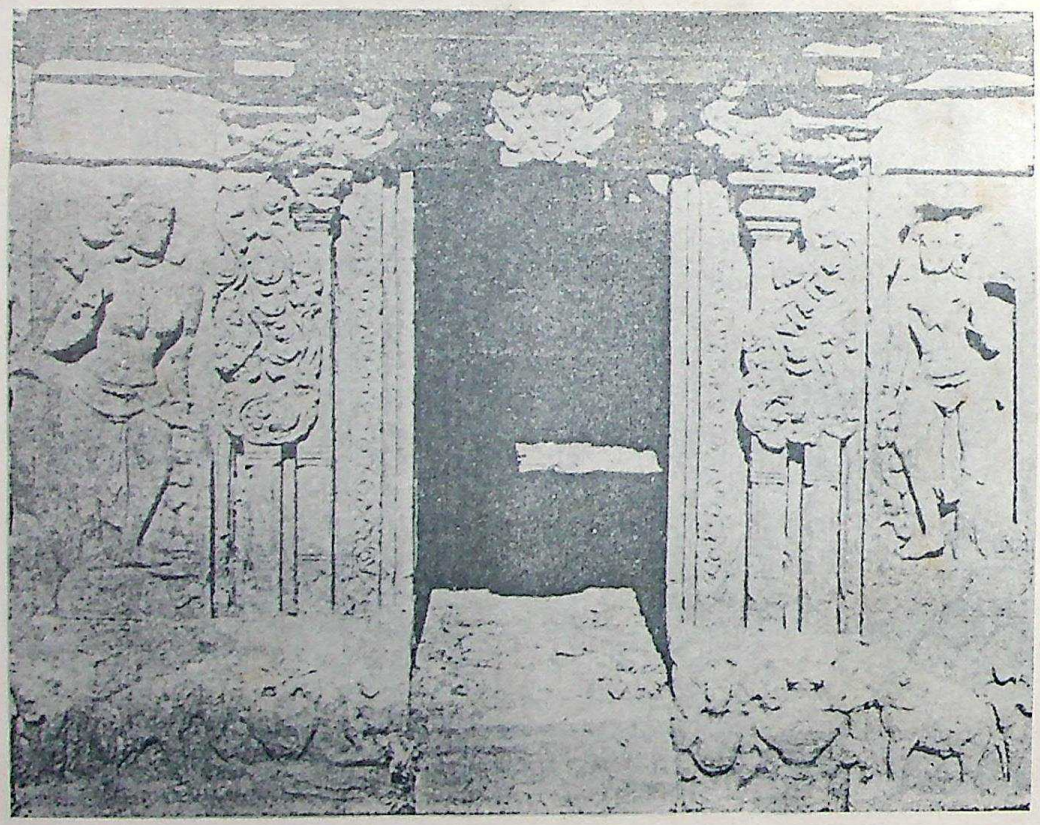
accept the features as the special creations of the genius of the Champan artists. Let us take one of the peculiar and characteristic ornaments which M. Parmentier calls "pieces de accent" frequently inserted at the angle of cornices and which stand out from the structures silhouetted against the sky and which undoubtedly accentuate the general effect of the design. They are very aggressive features of Siamese and Burmese architectural decoration. If we had no prototype of this in the Indian Continent, Chame artists could easily claim to be the originator of this motif—for all the monuments of Siam, Cambodia and Burma are posterior to the earliest structures of Champâ. Unfortunately this motif figures in the pattern book of Indian artists under the name of *Kanaka* or flame ornament and survives to-day in itsSinhalese equivalent *liyapata* (Coomaraswamy : "Mediæval Sinhalese Art" Fig. 45). Its earlier forms we can easily trace in the Gupta ornaments. We shall now consider the peculiar foliage decoration on the pilasters of temple A_1 Mi-so'n (Fig 43, "*Inventaire*" Vol. II p. 237). It is one of the most favourite decorations of the Chame temples and give them one of their distinctive features. The floral motif, however, occurs frequently on the wall paintings of Ajanta caves (III to VI century), and we can distinctly trace its earlier forms in the bas-relief at Bharhut. With slight variations the identical motif is frequently employed in the early Chalukyan temples at Aihole and Pattadakal. Another motif for decoration of lintels, frequently employed at Mi-so'n, Temple A_1 (Fig. 29 *ibid*) stands on somewhat similar position. It occurs at Ajanta and is very frequent on the Orissan temples—to the decorations of which latter the Chame temples have many related forms—particularly the figure motifs on the facades of pedestals. The small sculptured figures on the pedestal of a lingham from Trâ-Kieu (Pl. XIX) not only echo the general feeling of Orissan Art but in this instance seem to borrow the very types of figures which are familiar to us on the decorations of Orissan monuments. We cannot, however, suggest that the Chame artist has copied Orissan models. Trâ-Kieu has not yielded any old inscription and its antiquity is derived more from its proximity to the oldest site of Mi-so'n than from any positive evidence of its early age, and although M. Parmentier characterises this lingam as "art primitif" he dates them approximately to the period VII to VIII century. It lacks the simplicity and restraint of the early Mi-so'n monuments and may very properly be assigned to the 9th century which brings them within the range of Orissan Art. Somewhat similar remarks apply to another "floral motif" which runs along the top edge of the pedestal from Mi-so'n E_2 (Pl. IV). It is a most characteristic Orissan ornament derived from



Old Temple, Aihole

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Ajanta and is still used by the modern living artists in their tempera paintings of Jagannath. The patterns of the icons and the stories from the *puranas* offer the next series of comparative data. The "Birth of Bramha from the navel of Vishnu," one of the most hackneyed stories from the *urpana* occurs very frequently on the tymphanums of the Chame temples (Mi-Xuyen, Phu-Tho, Mi-so'n E) but is already represented in a well-known stone relief on one of the Gupta temples. Similarly the Gaja-lakshmi is already anticipated at Sanchi and the series of panels representing Shivatândava on the Chame temples merely follow in the footsteps of the earlier Indian prototypes in a cave at Badami and also at the Mallikaryuan temples at Pattadakal. The form of dancing Shiva has varied from time to time. The earlier forms picture the god dancing on the figure of a demon (apasmâra) and the later forms represent him as balancing on the back of the bull itself—a type now frequent in Orissa and Gaud (old Bengal). Both these forms are represented on the Chame monuments. And we may be permitted to conclude that each phase in the development of Indian Art and iconology at its source is reflected in the colony on the Pacific coast which must be taken to be in religious and artistic relationship with all movements in the main continent. Artists and priests, princes and pilgrims must have been in constant intercourse with this distant out-post of Indian civilization for without an organic intercourse—such forms evolved from time to time could not have travelled to Champâ. The art of Champâ cannot therefore be taken as an isolated development quite independent of inspirations from the sources of Indian religious and artistic centres. The parallels cited above undoubtedly establish a systematic borrowing from Indian forms properly so-called. But the most damaging evidence of the indebtedness of Chame sculptors to their Indian brethren is furnished by the various prototypes of the type of the dancing figure from Trâ-Kieu with which we began our study. If we compare with this figure the image of Lakshmi by the side of Vishnu in cave 3 in Badami Cave (Vincent Smith, "History of Fine Art," Pl. XLII), we are at once struck by a similarity in the ornaments, head-dress and the general pose which could not have been accidental. When we remember that this cave at Badami was executed by Manglisa in 578 A. D. and that the pedestal from Trâ-Kieu is estimated to be of the seventh century or possibly earlier, the possibility of the type having travelled from India to Champâ becomes quite feasible—unless the two pieces of sculpture are absolutely contemporary. But fortunately we are able to improve on the evidence by citing another interesting panel from India much earlier in date. It is a stone relief from a Bramhinical cave from Aihole (*vide* Fig. 3). It is certainly earlier than the Ladhkhan temple which Mr. Cousin dates anterior to the Badami Cave. In one of the figures from this old panel—we have the actual prototype of the dancing figure in what must have been a stereotype gesture prescribed by the *natya sastra* so close is the similarity in the attitude of the two hands. It demonstrates that the artist on the distant Pacific coast was after all giving a new version of some old familiar design already hallowed by the practices of earlier Indian artists.

Fig. 3 Bramhinical Cave, Aihole
6th Century

We may be well taken to task for labouring to demolish the claims for originality of the Chame artist. But the point we want to emphasize

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is that Chame Art should not be taken as standing on an independent foundation unrelated to the text of the Art of India proper. It is in fact the arm of Indian Art itself and naturally reflects all the features and development that Indian Art has exhibited from time to time. The Chame artist was in fact using the current phraseology and the vocabulary of Indian Art as it evolved and developed in the course of centuries, and was not inventing a language of his own for expressing a religious life which was identical with that prevailing in India during the contemporary period. Old Champâ, as its inscriptions and its dynastic history show, was after all a miniature replica, a little cameo of Indian civilization itself, pictured in all its phases. The fact that it preserved the integrity of its culture against the aggression of an inimical Chinese civilization shows that it must have replenished its vitality by frequent draughts from the fountain heads of its civilization. It was not only a chip of the old block—accidentally cast adrift on the Pacific shore —but the very old block itself—spreading out its branches to stem the flood of the surging Mongolian culture from the north. The time has undoubtedly come to discard the practice of studying Indian Art and its branches and derivatives in water tight compartments. And the publication of this volume devoted to a study of Chame sculptures has furnished the very valuable materials for a more comprehensive study than what the Indian records alone could furnish. They will help us to begin a study of its outlying members and branches in organic unity with its main trunk and to relate the distant and apparently dismembered excerpts to their original context.

We shall close this discussion by referring to a few more examples of Chame sculptures which appear to us to be of outstanding merit. The "Statue of the feminine divinity" (Pl. XXVII) with her matted locks done up in conical shape, undoubtedly recalls many an image of Parvati figured in Chola copper statues. The treatment of the upper anatomy is however distinctly different from the schematised exaggerations of South Indian sculptures. It comes from the Northern province (Hurong-qua-Quangnam) of old Champâ and evidently belongs to the group of monuments associated with Mi-so'n and has been rightly attributed to the early period (VII to VIII century).The statue of Skanda (Pl. XXIV) very convincing in its simplicity and quiet dignity offers quite unique features both in its iconographic and plastic character. The peculiar form of Skanda actually standing on the peacock as in this example is almost unknown in the Indian prototype. It comes from sanctuary B3 from the group at Mi-so'n and evidently belongs to the earliest phase of Chame sculpture. Two examples of Shaivaite sculpture (Pl. XXII) from Trâ-Kieu invite a little criticism. The piece marked No. 3, 2 should not be identified as Shiva;—the figure carries a sword which is never an attribute of the god. It is evidently a Shaivaite *dwarapala* (gate-keeper). Similarly we should like to label the thick-set standing figure of the cubist school (Pl. XXIX) as a *dwarapala*. He evidently holds a sword, missing in the figure. Besides the elaborate ornaments, particularly the type of head-gear, are very rare in the representation of the image of Shiva. The striking representations of the monkey (Pl. IX, 42, 6) recalling those from Mamallapuram, will easily enhance the reputation of Chame sculpture while the skilful representation of the movement of a flying warrior (Pl. XVI No. 44, 10) certainly rivals similar representations on the walls of Ajanta Caves. It is unfortunate that this volume is only confined to the examples of Chame sculpture collected in the Museum at Tourane. If only to complete the survey, the few more known examples of this school distributed over the Museums at Saigon, Trocadero and the Museum of "L'Ecole" at Hanoi and the Museé Guimet should have been included in this monograph. We certainly miss one or two striking pieces of Buddhist bronzes now in the Museum of L'Ecole which came from Dong-Duong and Bin dinh (Tours d'argent) which deserved to be studied in relation to the examples here reproduced. Nevertheless the examples actually made available in a series of carefully executed phototype plates offer a body of rich and valuable materials which will seriously improve the study of Indian Art and the volume, thanks to the skill of the printers and the enterprise of the publishers, fully upholds the reputation of this excellent series of monographs which we owe to the liberality of French connoisseurship in art. All students of Indian Art and civilization have been laid under a heavy debt to M. Parmentier for revealing one of the most fascinating pages of Indian Art.

II.—INDIAN INFLUENCE ON FAR EASTERN ART.*

By H. F. E. VISSER.

NOTHING is more subject to personal feeling and insight than the problem, whether, or in what degree, one province of art has exercised an influence on another section of the artistic domain. The student of art can hardly be too scrupulous in questions arising from the possibility of one special art having been influenced by another,

* A lecture delivered before the India Society, London on 9th March 1923.

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and should, from the very beginning point out whether, speaking of influences, he aims only at iconographic, at more or less superficial resemblances, or at analogies that are not only of an iconographic, but also of a really artistic, nature.

It will be wise to confine ourselves to the second kind of influences. Not only because resemblances between Indian and Far Eastern art of the purely iconographic kind are so abundant that they would supply us with material for many a volume, but especially because the way of treating influences that concern mainly essentially æsthetic questions and not only subject matter in art, seems to be more attractive and more in harmony with the aims of the India Society than investigations of the purely iconographic kind.

In this lecture we shall confine ourselves only to visual art, or to use the old-fashioned term, the fine arts, of some parts of Asia.

Secondly, we shall speak of Buddhist art, as with minor exceptions, Indian influence on Far Eastern art concerns only one category of that art, namely Buddhist art in China, Japan and Corea.

Furthermore it may be suggested, in studying influences on Far Eastern art, to confine ourselves solely to China, which will be sufficient and probably quite necessary. Indian influences on Far Eastern art first took shape in China. The more or less direct connections between India and the Far East are connections between India and China. Hence it follows that almost everything Indian, brought to Japan and Corea, passed on its way through the Celestial Empire.

The Chinese monuments, which supply us with the style-elements needed for this lecture, have, what might be formulated, chronological and geographical advantages over the similar Japanese and Corean monuments. In the cave temples of Tun-hwang, Yun-kang and Lung-men, and in the sculptural remains of South-China (especially of Sze-chw'an) we find invaluable series for the study of style development in Far Eastern Buddhist art. These series can be examined in their geographical relation to India. They bear, moreover, many dated inscriptions and can therefore also be determined chronologically.

In Japan and Corea Indian influences are, as we have said, of an indirect nature; China being the intermediary. The dates of the Japanese series that constitute parallels to Chinese Buddhist art from North-Wei to the middle of T'ang cannot be so easily determined as the works in China. The fact that Japanese parallel works must of necessity be of a later date than their models in China renders it rather difficult to apply our methods of style criticism to the Japanese monuments instead of to the Chinese. The Japanese works of the Suiko and Nara periods, which otherwise might have been welcomed as valuable helps in our investigations, are works in bronze, wood and clay, which are naturally not in such close relationship to the Japanese wooden temples in which they are found, as are the Chinese works in stone to the rock-cut temples of which they are the very "building stones."

In one respect, however, the Japanese monuments of the Suiko and Nara periods are of much greater value than the Chinese Buddhist works from North-Wei to the middle of T'ang. From the artistic point of view the quality that early Buddhist art in China must have once attained should be judged according to the Japanese works and, with some exceptions, *not* according to the Chinese. Japan, for many reasons, has been so fortunate as to preserve invaluable monuments which convey to us the noble splendour and subtilty of early Far Eastern Buddhist art. China, on the contrary, must have lost in many wars, through different troubles and through her climate, her best early Buddhist art. In the year 845 A. D. for instance, thousands of Buddhist temples were destroyed by order of the Emperor Wu Tsung.(1)

What China has left us of its early Buddhist art is, with some exceptions, the work of artisans, not of artists.

Let us repeat that we shall base our investigations on the Chinese materials which are, with few exceptions, more or less coarse, and not on the Japanese which are for a greater part refined and strongly moving

(1) See Arthur Waley "Chinese Temple Paintings." The Burlington Magazine, November 1922.

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Only in one case shall we have to consider paintings, namely the Horyu-ji wall paintings which are to be found in Japan. As, in our opinion, these paintings are not the work of a Far Eastern artist, it will not be inconsequent to consider in one special case works of art that happen to adorn the walls of a temple-building in Japan.

It has been said that Indian influence on Far Eastern art concerns, with minor exceptions, only one category of that art, namely, Buddhist art.(2) This is such an important fact that it should have our most earnest attention. It moreover implies that there existed in China more or less foreign North-Wei, Sui and T'ang Buddhist styles side by side with more or less autochthonous styles.

The most striking examples of the existence of these two styles side by side in one work are some Buddhist paintings of Tun-hwang, in which donors and other personages are often painted in native styles.

These highly cultivated Chinese styles are of course the result of a long process of development in which, as far as the art of painting is concerned, the well-known engraved Han stones (in which we should see artisan interpretations of Han paintings, of which nothing has survived) are milestones, as also the style of the Ku Kai-chi scroll in the British Museum.

But we know more ancient Chinese documents of a magnificent art of sculpture and ornament. We still possess in our twentieth century Chinese bronzes of most impressive form dating at least as far back as the beginning of the fifth millenium B. C.

These bronzes are so masterly decorated with brilliant and intricate ornament that some students of art share the opinion that the best old Chinese bronzes belong to the grandest works of art ever created in Asia.

It is quite necessary to emphasize the fact that before foreign-influenced Buddhist art arose in China in the first century A. D., this country could look back upon a powerful autochthonous art development of an intensely high standard. This fact must never be forgotten when examining Chinese Buddhist art.

In pursuing our investigations concerning Indian influence on Chinese art we are confronted with great and almost insurmountable difficulties. We do not possess any original Indian work found in China like the probably South-Indian standing bronze Buddha found in Annam and shown to you on the screen during M. Goloubew's December lecture before this society; or like a similar statuette excavated in Eastern Java that was seen last year at the Exhibition of Indian sculpture at the Hague.(3)

These findings would of course gain in importance if we knew, in addition to the period in which these bronzes were made, also the period in which they had been brought to Annam and Eastern Java. But it is better to have a little than nothing at all. Information is to be found concerning original Indian works brought to China, and even about works of art made by Indian monks in China, in many old Chinese annals and itineraries. To give only a few examples :—In the year 430 A.D. the Indian Missionary Gunavarman painted a Jâtaka scene in a temple near Canton. (4) About a century later the Chinese monk Hwi-Sheng, the travelling companion of Sung Yun, brought back from India brass models of Indian stûpas, (5) whilst in the beginning of

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(2) These "minor exceptions" *e. g.* the stone column of the Liang dynasty (502—557 A. D.), do *not* refer to works of art made before the period of the earliest Buddhist art known in China (at Yun-kang, second half of the fifth century A.D.). It can hardly be believed that there has been an Indian influence on Chinese art long before the fifth century, as is the opinion of Prof. Conrady who thinks that Indian influence dates back to the Han period.

Prof. Conrady writes, ("Indischer Einfluss in China," Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch, 1906, p. 347) :—"die Schantung Skulpturen (sind) trotz Chavannes' gegenteiliger Behauptung, reich an Indischen Motiven."

(3). This statue will be reproduced in the second large publication of the "Society of Friends of Asiatic Art," The Hague, which publication will probably be ready in the autumn of this year (1923).

(4). See Edouard Chavannes. "Gunavarman," T'oung Pao 5, IIme Serie, p. 200.

(5). See Edouard Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyâna et le Gandhâra (518-522 p. 6.)" Bullet de l'Ec. Franc, d'E.-O. 1903, p. 387.

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the seventh century we find among the court painters of the Emperor Yan-ti, the Indian Kabôdha and Dharma Kuksha. (6) It is well known that in the year 645 the famous Hüen-tsang brought back from his long travels in India images of the Buddha and his Saints in gold, silver, crystal and sandal-wood. (7) And so on.

Probably the Indian sculptures brought to China were but small works of metal, precious stones, wood and clay, and not large stone sculptures, which were difficult to transport in those days, and at least a few of which might have survived.

That the imported Indian paintings have disappeared is easy to understand. Regarding Chinese paintings of these early periods we are, perhaps with a few exceptions, just as unfortunate.

But of the small imported Indian works at least one specimen might have been found or excavated in recent years and it is to be regretted that it is not so. On the contrary, numerous small Chinese objects of these times have been found in China.

Besides the total absence of Indian works in China we are confronted with another great difficulty. As those who are somewhat acquainted with Chinese art well know, there is a large break in the history of this art. The forms of this art are practically unknown from the end of the Han period to the beginning of the North-Wei period. The greater part of the third century, the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century in Chinese art is almost "terra incognita."

It will be difficult to ascertain the cause of this break. Although it is of the greatest interest to us to know it, it only counts with us as such. Because of this break we are in ignorance of the appearance of Chinese art at the time when foreign-influenced Buddhist art was created in the second half of the fifth century at Yun-kang, and in the first half of the sixth century at Tun-hwang.

(6). See Friedrich Hirth, "Ueber fremde Einflusse in der Chinesischen Kunst," Munchen & Leipzig, 1896, p. 72.

(7). See Thomas Watters "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D." Roy. As. Soc., London, 1904, p. 11.

It is, therefore, extremely difficult to state of what kind, and how strong, the Chinese element is in the Celestial Empire's early Buddhist art.

Before passing on to the detailed part of our investigations we must cast a look at the map of Central-Asia and China, surveying the ways by which foreign art influences have, or might have, penetrated into China. The best is to lend an ear, about this subject, to the greatest Sinologist the West has ever known, namely Edouard Chavannes.

In the text-volume of his "Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale", in which he treats of Buddhist sculpture, Chavannes says (p. 293 translated into English) :—"In order to deal with the evolution of Chinese-Buddhist art we should, properly speaking, be able to trace simultaneously its development in the North and in the South of the Middle Empire. The political division that has maintained itself (from 420 A.D., H.V.) to the end of the sixth century has, indeed, profoundly separated the bed of the Hwang-ho from that of the Yang-t-ze. Buddhist art must have come to the southern provinces from India directly by sea ; but we hardly know the forms into which this art has developed.

In the northern provinces, on the contrary, Buddhist art came from Central-Asia ; it did not, as has been the case in the south, draw its inspiration from small scale images brought home by navigators, but has been brought to China in the course of that gradual march towards the East, by means of which Buddhism, starting from Gandhara, has travelled through the whole of Turkestan, penetrated into Shen-si, Shan-si and Chih-li, and thereupon extended as far as Corea and Japan. There is no discontinuity in this progression, and the day will arrive when we shall perceive the successive stages that mark the evolution of art forms during that enormous traverse of the whole of Asia."

Chavannes shows here clearly that direct, or in other words pure, Indian influences, must be expected to exist in the art of the South; which seems to be right, as we shall see later.

It must be remarked that the political division between North and South China during the fifth and sixth centuries does not

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of necessity imply that Chinese art during this period was strictly divided into a Northern and a Southern branch, as it is often believed. That the political division has been also an artistic division seems to be contradicted by some facts, one of which is to be referred to hereafter.

Professor Itô Chûta of the Imperial University at Tôkyô has shown us that this opinion about an artistic division must be discarded.(8)

It still remains to be decided whether, with regard to Indian art influences, a southern overland route must be taken into consideration in addition to the sea route from India to Southern China.

In China a well developed architecture in wood must have existed long before Buddhism was introduced. On many engraved Han stones we find illustrations of buildings in wood. Far Eastern architecture is essentially architecture in wood. The pagoda in early periods, even though it is built of stone, originated from architecture in wood.

Though the pagoda is of course associated with Indian symbols and ideas, and though we find in many pagodas details that are characteristically Indian in shape, it seems to be a statement too quickly made to say merely that the origin of the pagoda is the Indian stupa.

The æsthetic conception of the pagoda, as well as its artistic and structural elements, are essentially *Far Eastern* as is proved, for instance, by the stone pillars, dated 147 A. D., of the Han tomb Wu-liang ts'zu in Shan-tung (fig.1). These pillars are three hundred years anterior to China's earliest Buddhist art. Like similar monuments of the Han period, they show clearly that the essential elements of pagoda building are Far Eastern. We find these elements in China long before the introduction of a foreign influenced Buddhist art.

In Far Eastern pagoda building Far Eastern architecture seems to be fused with Indian symbolism, which, to put it briefly, is our conclusion.

Must we see in the sixth century non-Buddhist column before the tomb of Siao in South-China, besides other foreign influences, also Indian architectural influence? It is difficult to give an answer to this question. The best is to refer to the Kokka article written by Professor Itô on the subject.(9)

Chinese cave temple architecture is very poor. It seems to have borrowed from that magnificent Indian cave temple architecture merely the idea of making rock caves for religious purposes. Leaving here more or less recent Chinese interpretations of Indian architecture out of account, we think that the influence of Indian architecture upon early Chinese architecture has not been very important.

The oldest Buddhist art of China, as has already been stated, is the sculptural art of the cave-temples of Yun-kang, dating mainly from the second half of the fifth century A. D.

For the study of the development of Far Eastern Buddhist art the documental value of Yun-kang can hardly be overestimated. Much has been said about the various foreign components of its art. Chavannes (loc.cit p. 294195) points out that the North-Wei who ruled at Ta-t'ung-fu when the sculptures of Yun-kang were carved, were a tribe of foreign origin, namely Tonguse, that came from East Mongolia or from Manchuria. In Chavannes' opinion the art of Yun-kang owes its originality to "un sentiment artistique très personnel" of the North-Wei people. North-Wei art—giving this title henceforth as a general denomination to fifth and sixth century Buddhist art of North-China—is, to sum up Chavannes' point of view, the combination of this "sentiment artistique" of the Wei people, of Indian and Central Asiatic iconography, and of Chinese "maîtrise de facture".

Chavannes' gifted pupil, Raphael Petrucci, emphasizes (10) that the influence of

(8) *See* Ito Chûta "Stone Column and Lion before the Sepulchre of the Courtier Hsiao, of the Liang Dynasty", The Kokka, No. 217 (June 1908), p. 331, with several illustrations.

(9) *See* above.

(10) "L'Bouddhique en Extrême-Orient d'après les découvertes récentes," par R. Petrucci, Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 1911, 2me semestre, p. 193 sqq.

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the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra on the art of Yun-kang should not be over-estimated. He says that this Hellenistic art, at the time it penetrated into Turkestan, was probably modified by Iranian elements. Petrucci believes that in the art of Yun-kang the purely Chinese artistic element preponderates.

Supposing that the elements which up to now have been enumerated are indeed components of the art of Yun-kang, we must remark that it is difficult to gain an idea of the rôle of North-Wei art, North-Wei this time as a special, not as a general denomination—, because we do not know the art of the Wei people in their pre-Chinese period.

Neither is it an easy task to point out the purely Chinese element in these sculptures, because, owing to the great break in the history of Chinese art, we do not know the forms of that art in the two centuries preceding the carving of Yun-kang.

Only the influence of the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra and of Iranian art-elements can, with the help of the Gandhâra sculptures and of the rich Turkestan findings, be traced to a certain degree.

Among the real or more or less hypothetical components of the art of Yun-kang previously mentioned there is no Indian component. Modern point of view does not admit that the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra, as it is more rightly called instead of Graeco-Buddhist art, has anything to do with the emotional elements in Indian art.

It remains to be seen whether that Central Asiatic art of Turkestan, which beyond doubt must be looked upon as a component of the art of Yun-kang, was chiefly a mixture of Hellenistic and Iranian elements, or a mixture of Hellenistic, Iranian *and Gupta elements.* Only in the latter case should we be justified in speaking of an Indian influence upon the art of Yun-kang.

Miss Klee, in her excellent article on the sculptures of the early Chinese cave-temples (11), is indeed of opinion, as are some Japanese authors, that the art of Yun-kang has taken over Gandhâra as well as Gupta forms. But she admits that a clear division of both sources is impossible.

Not Yun-kang but Tun-hwang, and not the sculptural but the *pictorial* North-Wei art, seems to throw some light on the problem whether in North-Wei art Indian elements have performed a part.

Before passing on to Tun-hwang we must lay stress upon the necessity of recognising different styles in the North-Wei art of Yun-kang. To treat this art as a whole make our task specially arduous.

We already find in Yun-kang what, for the present, we might call a Central-Asiatic style besides more or less Far Eastern styles. Of the Central-Asiatic Yun-kang style that is composed of Gandhâra, Iranian and probably also of Indian elements, a good example is the cave interior reproduced on Plate CXXVII, fig. 235, of Chavannes, "Mission archéol. dans la Chine septentr."

A fair specimen of the more or less Far Eastern Yun-kang styles, which are probably mainly composed of Chinese and North-Wei elements (North-Wei again as a special denomination), is Plate CXXXV, fig. 248, of Chavannes' "Mission".

Of the caves of Tun-hwang those that can be ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century are of great importance, because they are decorated with North-Wei sculptural *and also with North-Wei pictorial art.*

The sculptural North-Wei art of Tun-hwang (12) resembles the art of Yun-kang to such a degree that it seems justifiable to attribute suppositions made at Tun-hwang to Yun-kang.

The North-Wei wall-paintings of Tun-hwang belong to various styles. Among them one is of special interest to us. The paintings that belong to this style (13) resemble certain paintings in the caves of Ajanta (14) as far as general composition and some

(11) "Die Plastik in den Hohlen von Yun-kang, Lung-men und Kung-hsien," von Th. Klee. Ostasiat. Zeitschr. Apr.—Sept. 1918, p. 37.

(12) *See* e.g. "Mission Pelliot, I Les Grottes de Touen-houang" Tome III, Paris 1920, Pls. CLXXXVI, CXCI and CXCII and Tome IV, Paris 1921, Pls. CXCIII and CXCIV.

(13) Ibid, Tome III, Pls. CLXXXIX and CXC.

(14) *See* the Kokka, No. 324, Pl. II (below).

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ornaments are concerned, for instance the chess board design.

Though this resemblance is of a somewhat superficial kind, the artistic sentiment of the details of the Tun-hwang paintings being different from the emotional element in the Ajanta details, it may still be asked whether some Tun-hwang North-Wei *sculptures* should not also be influenced by Indian art of the Gupta period as some paintings at Tun-hwang seem to be influenced by that art.

Attributing finally a supposition made at Tun-hwang to the art of Yun-kang, we arrive at the thesis that the earliest Buddhist art of the Far East, among many other influences, was also influenced by Indian art.

As it is always our aim to place side by side foreign-influenced works and works of a more or less Far Eastern style, attention is called to a kind of North-Wei wall-paintings at Tun-hwang displaying a style that differs greatly from the style of wall-paintings of Indian type (15). The student of Far Eastern art will at once recognise in this kind of painting the prototype of some wall-paintings in Corean tombs and of the paintings on the Tamamushi shrine of Hôryû-ji.

Some believe, as we have said, that the political division between North and South China during the fifth and sixth centuries, was also an artistic division. They think for instance that the Central-Asiatic-Indian type of North-Wei art (adding henceforth Indian to Central-Asiatic, though this is not absolutely justified), belongs to the artistic productions of the North, whereas the more or less Far Eastern North-Wei type should belong to the art of the South. We know from experience that of two small gilt Buddhist bronzes in the collection of M. Stoclet at Brussels the Central-Asiatic-Indian type, dated 519 A.D. (fig. 2), has been attributed to North-Chinese art, whilst the contemporary Far Eastern type made in 516 or 517 A.D. (fig. 3) is said to be South Chinese.

This Far Eastern type, in the form of figures in niches, it is true, has been discovered in 1914 by the French first Segalen expedition in South China, at Mien-cheu in Sze-chwân (16). These niches and figures have been carved during the Liang period in 529 A.D. on a stone pillar of the Han dynasty.

Segalen ascertains (17) that the given shape of those sixth century niches has been found on Han monuments. In the opinion of this talented explorer, also deceased soon after Petrucci and Chavannes, the style of the garments of these figures, that for instance, is characteristic of many sculptures of the Japanese Suiko period, has nothing to do with Gandhâra ; it should on the contrary be associated with He art (18).

We are inclined to share Segalen's opinion that this style is chiefly Chinese. That it is not right to think that it belongs exclusively to the South is proved by the fact that we come across it in the caves of Yun-kang, which means that at the very time of the political division between North and South China this style also existed in the North of the Middle Empire. It will also be found at Lung-men (19).

Professor Ito's opinion that the division of China's fifth and sixth century art into a Northern and a Southern branch has no *raison d'etre* seems indeed to be justified.

The colossal Buddha of Yun-kang is a characteristic specimen of the Central-Asiatic-Indian North-Wei style. This contrast between sculptures like this and works in the Far Eastern style is enormous.

The illustration of the stone-lion (20) that was photographed by Segalen during his explorations near Nan-king (in 1917), should be dated about 518 A. D.—being, thus contemporary with the bronzes and stone sculptures that have just been

(15) *See* e.g. "Mission Pelliot," Tome IV, Pls. CCLIII and CCLVI.

(16) *See* "Premier exposé des résultats archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine occidentale par la mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lertigue et Victor Segalen (1914) "III" L'Art Bouddhique ancien au Sseu-tch' ouan," Journ. Asiat. Soc., Mai-Juin 1916, fig 26 (facing p. 388).

(17) Loc. cit., p. 389.

(18) Loc. cit., p. 389.

(19) *See* Chavannes' "Mission," Pl. CXIV. fig. 218 (Yun-kang) and Pl. CCLXII. fig. 349 (Lug-en).

(20) *See* "Bulletin archeologique du Museem Guimet," fasc, 1, Paris et Bruxelles 1921, Pl. IV.

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discussed—confirms what has often been repeated, namely, that besides a foreign-influenced art there has always existed autochthonous art in China.

Looking at the illustration of the significant work, before the grandeur of which every word of praise must necessarily fail we may ask :—which is the winning part in early Chinese art, the foreign-influenced category or the group of which the autochthonous character is the echo of the earliest Chinese art known to us the sublime art of Shang, Gheu and Han.

The answer does not seem to be too difficult.

Now that the probable Indian influences on Chinese art of the Wei period, covering the second half of the fifth and nearly the whole of the sixth century, have had our attention, we must cast a look at the short period that lies between North-Wei and XT. ung, namely the Sui period from 589 to 618.

Some Buddhist sculptures of this period (fig. 4) discovered by the Segalen expedition at Mien-cheu, the place already known to us, are of the greatest interest, because the decoration of the socles of these early seventh century niches must have something to do with Indian art. Segalen thinks (21) that the style of these niches with their contents can be derived from Wei art at Yun-kang and Lung-men.

We regret that we cannot share Segalen's opinion. Though the shape of the niches is to be found in the cave temples it is very doubtful whether the figures that adorn these niches can be associated with anything in Yun-kang and Lung-men. The decoration of the socles can by no means be derived from any decoration in Yun-kang.

Miss Klee has laid stress upon the Indian element in this socle decoration (22).

There is a striking contrast between the art of the figures and that of the socles of these niches. The style of the figures is a provincial, coarse Chinese style ; the way in which the very fine ornament is carved and composed is not at all Chinese. The artistic sentiment in this decoration is not Far Eastern but strongly Indian ; to be more precise, it is Gupta. Have the socles of these niches been carved by Indian artists ?

Whether the Indian decoration of the Mien-cheu niches should be looked upon as an argument in support of Dr. William Cohn's thesis that the seventh century Buddhist sculpture of China and Japan has been strongly influenced by the art of the Gupta period (23), is an extremely difficult question. We believe that our knowledge about the Chinese remains of the early T'ang period (the whole T'ang period runs from 618 to 906) on the one side, the Indian sculptural monuments of the Gupta period on the other side, does not justify a pronouncement on this intricate question.

The grounds upon which we believe that a pronouncement is premature, or even impossible, might be formulated as follows :—

The possibility is by no means excluded that the Buddhist T'ang style in Chinese sculpture is partly the outcome of an autochthonous development of one of the North-Wei styles. That T'ang sculpture, in comparison with the archaic North-Wei styles, is more or less realistic, is easy to understand. It is the fate of every style to become realistic in the course of time. This realistic shade need not be caused by an Indian influence.

Should the sculptural T'ang style in Chinese Buddhist art be partly derivable from the Central-Asiatic-Indian style of North-Wei, then we must not be astonished to find an Indian sentiment in Buddhist T'ang works. It must only be admitted that speaking of a Central-Asiatic-Indian style, we are not quite consistent. It is, as we have seen, not sure, though possible, that there is a pure Indian element in one of the North-Wei styles. Therefore the Indian sentiment in T'ang art may have penetrated into this art only perhaps during the early T'ang period in the seventh century. *In the course of this penetration Khotan seems to have been an extremely important stage.*

Japan still possesses as one of its greatest treasures the masterly Buddhist wall-paintings of Hôryû-ji. This pictorial series

(21) Loc. cit., p. 391.
(22) Loc. cit., p. 49.

(23) *See* William Cohn, "Indische Plastik," 2nd Ed., Berlin 1922, p. 31 and footnote on p. 35.

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belongs, chronologically spoken, to the T'ang period; in all probability to the second half of the seventh century. On the one hand the wall-paintings show a remarkable resemblance to some important T'ang sculptures. On the other hand we firmly believe that the great master who has adorned the Kon-do walls of Hôryû-ji was a Khotanese painter. The grounds on which this belief has been based will be exposed hereafter.

As it seems to be beyond discussion that the art of Khotan has been influenced by India, and not only by Ghandhâra and Iran, we think that the Indian element in Buddhist T'ang art is rather the consequence of seventh century Khotanese, than of direct pure Indian influences.

We repeat that this problem is as intricate as it is interesting and that any pronouncement, in our opinion, is premature.

If we compare a colossal North-Wei Bodhisattva of Yun-kang (24) with a colossal T'ang Bodhisattva of Lung-men (25) the supposition that T'ang Buddhist style is partly derivable from one of the North-Wei styles seems to be somehow justified. That the rich ornaments that usually adorn the garment of T'ang Bodhisattvas are not a peculiarity of the T'ang period as it is often believed, and need not be ascribed to Indian influence during this period, is clearly proved by the great, gilt bronze North-Wei Bodhisattva that is one of the finest and most interesting art treasures in the Tokyo Fine Arts School collection (26).

Neither is, contrary to the current belief, the characteristic position of the bodies of many T'ang Bodhisattvas a peculiarity of T'ang. In this position the bodies mainly rest on one leg and are inclined to the right if they rest on the left leg and *vice versa*.

Some sculptures in the caves of Yun-kang (27) disprove this belief.

(24) *See* Chavannes "Mission" PL. CXXVIII, fig. 238.
(5) " " " Pl. CCXXIV, fig. 555.
(26) *See* "Tokyo Bijutsu Taikwan" (Masterpieces selected from the Fine Arts of the Far East), Tokyo 1909-1920, Vol. XIII, fig. XCIV.
(27) *See* Chavannes' "Mission," Pl. CLIII, fig. 267.

Quite apart from the problem as to the manner in which Indian sentiment has penetrated into T'ang Buddhist art, it seems to be beyond doubt that this art, in its early period, has been strongly influenced by Khotan.

This has been said by many authors. Among them, Professor Hamada Kosaku of the Imperial University at Kyoto, occupies a prominent position with a series of six articles entitled "Graeco-Indian influence upon the Far Eastern arts," which appeared in the "Kokka" in the course of 1906 (28). In his fifth article Professor Hamada did not hesitate to attribute the Hôryû-ji wall-paintings to Khotan (29), whilst in his last article this competent Japanese archæologist says :—"During the Sui and T'ang periods the kingdom of Khotan was found to have been in communication with India and Tibet, until there had developed in that country a new hybrid art which was soon after introduced into China and formed the basis for the well-known T'ang style," (30).

As early as 1896, ten years before the articles of Professor Hamada appeared, Friedrich Hirth, in his publication "Ueber fremde Einflüsse in der Chinesischen Kunst," emphasized that the Khotanese painter Wei-ch'i Yi-seng, who was attached to the Chinese court in the seventh century, must have had a great influence on Far Eastern pictorial art. In his "Scraps from a Collector's Note book" that appeared in 1905, Hirth dwelled again at length upon Wei-ch'i Yi-seng. His great interest in everything regarding the life and work of this Khotanese master seems only too justified.

Though it should be our aim to prove that the wall-paintings of Hôryû-ji have been painted by a Khotanese master, whilst in our case it is of no importance to know the name of this master, still we cannot withstand the temptation to ask "Are these sublime paintings the work of Wei-ch'i Yi-seng ?"

Various reasons have encouraged us to put a question of so daring a nature. Yi-seng must have come to China about 630,

(28) Nos. 188, 189, 191, 192, 193 and 196.
(29) No. 193 (June 1906) p. 353.
(30) No. 196 (Sept. 1906) p. 443.

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whilst the Hôryû-ji panels, in the opinion of some competent scholars, should be ascribed to the second half of the seventh century. As these paintings must be the work of a master matured in his art, the possibility of Yi-seng being this master need not be absolutely excluded on chronological grounds, though we admit that this first reason for our supposition is not very convincing owing to not knowing either the age at which Yi-seng came to China or the exact date of the paintings.

Yi-seng, already in his life-time, was a master of extraordinary fame (31). The predominating position of Hôryû-ji among the Buddhist temples of seventh century Japan, and the many early chefs d'œuvre still in its possession make it clear that only a great master, an artist of extraordinary fame, can have been called to Japan to adorn the walls of the principal building of its most prominent temple.

As Yi-seng is the most famous Buddhist painter in the "foreign" style of seventh century China, our second reason for supposing that he could have been the artist sought seems to be better founded.

Hirth has pointed out that one of the oases in close vicinity to the north-east of Khotan must probably be taken as Yi-seng's native country (32). One of these places is Farhâd bêg-yailaki, and it is here that Sir Aurel Stein discovered a tempera painting of Hâritî, in our opinion the work of an artisan and not of an artist, which is of great interest to us because of the way in which the head of Hâritî is painted, resembling to a high degree the style and the technical exclusion of the head of Amida on the western Kon-dô wall of Hôryû-ji (fig. 5).

It is open to anyone to say that our supposition of Yi-seng being the master of the Hôryû-ji panels is somewhat fantastic. It will, on the contrary, be difficult to deny that this master has been a *Khotanese* artist.

We have pointed out that the style of some important Far Eastern Buddhist sculptures of the T'ang period resembles the style of the Hôryû-ji panels. In the event of these paintings really being Khotanese, this resemblance explains the Khotanese element in the contemporary sculptural art.

The Indian sentiment in the wall-paintings of Hôryû-ji has always been a very puzzling problem to many earnest students of Far Eastern art. The problem would partly be solved if we take the panels for Khotanese work.

Here, of course, a new question arises as to how strong the Indian element is in Khotanese seventh century pictorial art. As with all similar questions the answer depends upon personal feeling and insight. If we substitute for Hôryû-ji panels "Khotanese paintings," the oft expressed opinion that the Hôryû-ji paintings resemble in a high degree some paintings in the caves of Ajanta, would run :—"Khotanese seventh century pictorial art must be associated with certain series of pictorial art in Ajanta."

It must be remarked, however, that students of the art of Asia who have visited both Hôryû-ji and the caves of Ajanta, or who have excellent photographs of the paintings in both sanctuaries at their disposal, do not, as a rule, share this current opinion. Some of these even believe that there is no resemblance at all.

It must be admitted first of all that there is a great difference between the pure and strong line work of the Hôryû-ji panels and the much more picturesque way in which the paintings of Ajanta are done. Some essentially artistic elements in both series diverge highly in our opinion. Moreover, the symmetrical composition of the Hôryû-ji panels and the methods of conception adopted in Ajanta also diverge.

Though the difference between both pictorial series might be said to be much greater than the resemblance between them, we still think that there is a resemblance sufficient to recognise the Indian element in Khotanese seventh century pictorial art (fig. 6).

Before giving a résumé of the foregoing, a few words about a question which

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(31). We cannot believe that a master of such fame could have painted the Dêvarâja, published by Herbert Mueller in the "Ostasiat Zeitschr." VCIII, 1-4, Apr. 1919, March 1920 (ill. fac. p. 300).

(32). *See* Friedrich Hirth "Scraps from a Collector's Note book", Leiden 1905, p. 70.

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is not directly connected with the subject of our investigations.

The painter Abanindra Nath Tagore has supposed (33) that there might be some relation between the "Sadanga" or the Six Limbs of Indian Painting, and, to use Mr. Waley's denomination, the "Six Component Parts," which in the second half of the fifth century A.D. have been formulated by the Chinese painter Sié Hoh.

We regret that, basing our judgment on the many well-known commentaries of Sié Hoh's Component Parts and, with the friendly help of Professor de Visser, also on the original Chinese text, we are by no means able to detect any connection between the Indian Limbs as interpreted by Mr. Tagore, and the probable meaning of the characteristically Chinese Component Parts.

Moreover, we cannot realize that any such subtle artistic relations between India and China could have existed in the fifth century, as would be indicated by a connection between the Indian Limbs and the Chinese Component Parts.

Mr. Waley, in the last of his articles on "Chinese Philosophy of Art" in the Burlington Magazine (34) says:—"It is curious that whereas thousands of Buddhist scriptures were translated from the Sanskrit, not one Indian work of any other kind was translated.

"The Hindus, far more given at any rate to the semblance of logic, had worked out a theory of Beauty which would certainly have interested Chinese painters, though it was applied chiefly to Literature. It is strange that no such works were translated."

This quotation from Mr. Waley's article is another argument against Mr. Tagore's supposition.

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(33) *See* "Ostasiat Zeitschr." III, 1, p. 102 and III, 3, p. 375.

(34) Vol. XXXIX, July-Dec. 1921, p. 297.

To conclude, a summary may be given of the results of the present investigations.

There is, in all probability, among many other foreign elements, a pure Indian component part in the art of North-Wei, the earliest Buddhist art known in China.

The socle decoration of some early seventh century Buddhist niches in South-China, seems to have been carved perhaps by Indian artist. If so, it remains, at the present stage of our archæological knowledge, an isolated fact from which no further conclusions can be drawn.

Early T'ang Buddhist style could well be partly a development of one of the styles of North-Wei. The influence of Khotan on T'ang Buddhist art must have been very important and decisive, whilst the Indian sentiment in T'ang works may have resulted mainly from this contact with Khotan and need not be ascribed to direct influences from India.

Some current opinions about the way Indian and Chinese art are related do not seem any too well based. The more the subject of the present investigations is studied, the more it proves to be a series of very delicate and intricate problems. We can scarcely be too scrupulous in trying to find solutions to these highly interesting problems.

The two magnificent poles of the art of Asia are India and China. Before there could have been any contact between Chinese and Indian art, each of these arts had produced works of extraordinary beauty and masterly style. If there is any question as to one land having inspired another, then that land is, of course India. India has enriched Far Eastern Buddhist art with some of the highest that it possesses.

Some supreme Buddhist works created in Far Eastern countries are the sublime result of a fusion of Indian and Far Eastern art.

Can anything finer be imagined in the history of the art of Asia?

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III.—THE INDIAN ROOM OF EMPRESS MARIA THERESIA.

By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI.

THERE was a time when Indian miniature paintings were used for the decoration of the palaces of European rulers. The taste for exotic decorations already accustomed to previously imported goods of Chinese origin, began to relish Indian works of art, when Jesuits and East India Company brought to Europe Indian views and Indian treasures. The best and richest specimen is the so-called 'room of millions' in the imperial country-seats "Schönbrunn" in Vienna. There 260 miniatures are pasted on small wooden-borders, framed in glass and surrounded by gilded Rococo-borders. They are set into walls panelled with "Feketin" wood we do not know up to the present day what is the origin of the name of the wood. Hitherto these paintings have not recieved attention although as a whole they represent most probably the best collection of this kind of art in Europe. The Indian scholars might be interested to make their acquaintance. The first Institute for the history of art at the University of Vienna has just published a volume of illustrations, where all the miniatures are reproduced and some of them in colours.* A second forthcoming volume is intended to deal with them scientifically.

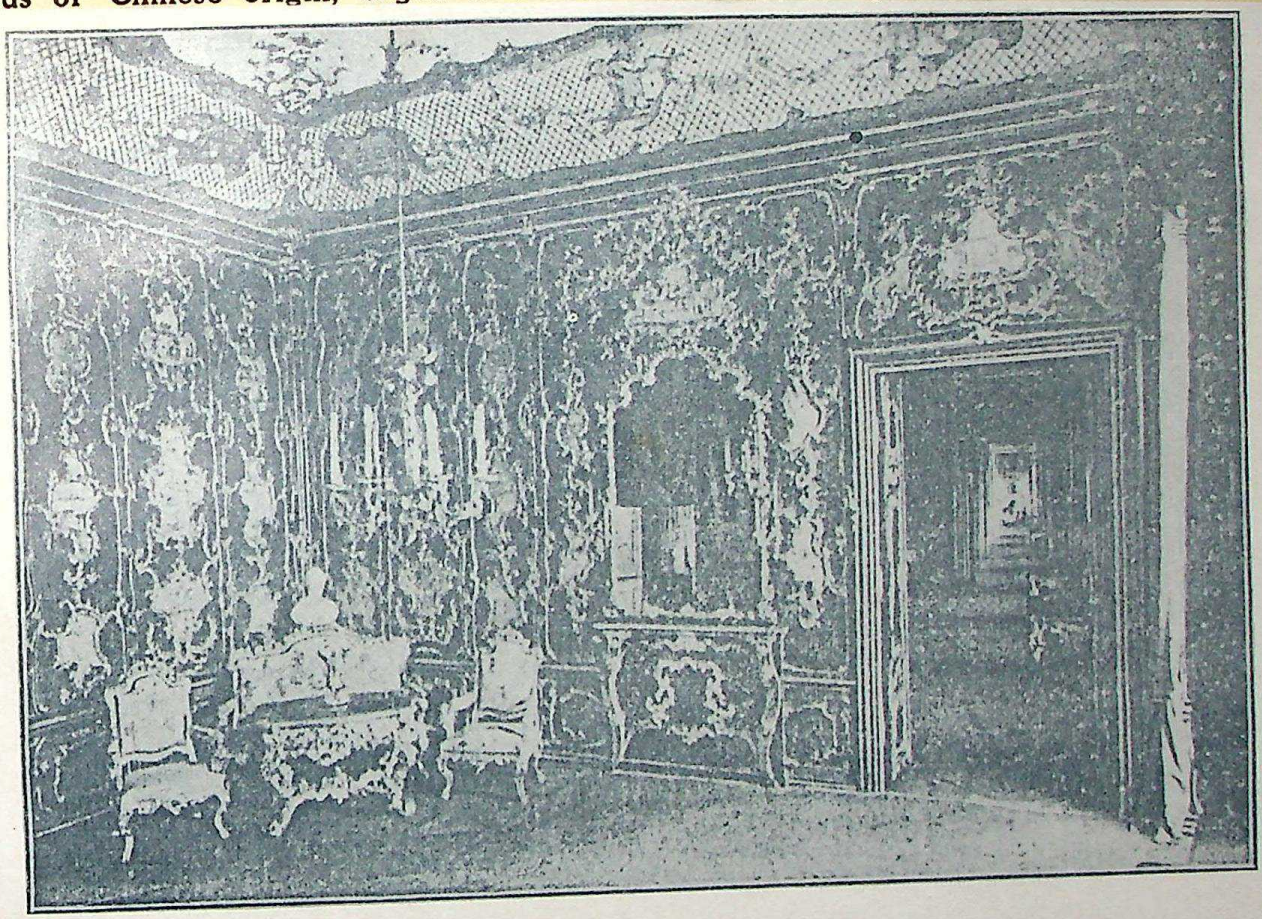

Fig. 1.

I. Report.—Fig. 1 gives a general view of the room. It is a square room within

* The Indian miniatures in the palace of "Schlosse Schönbrunn" ed. by Josef Strzygowski first Vol. Plates with 3 coloured and 60 monochrome photo-types and a descriptive list by the editor and by Heinrich Gluck, 1923 "Wiener Drucke."

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the long row of rooms on the East side of the palace. The two windows of the 'room of millions' also are facing East. In between them and next to the passages are mirrors whereas all the other walls are covered with the most charming play of lines, peculiar to the Rococo. The main wall is to be seen in Fig. 1 to the left. It contains seven vertical rows, each formed by three frames one upon another; three of the rows are to be seen in Fig. 1. Then come the side walls with three rows one upon another and then the mirror itself with its frame, *i.e.*, thrice divided by doors and windows. In this way the 60 Rococo-frames with Indian miniatures are formed. Similar frames are to be noticed even on the ceiling; these however are not filled with Indian original miniatures but are replaced by copies made in Vienna.

The palace which contains the room was built by Maria Theresia (1740—80) according to the plans of Fischer Von Erlash (Austria's greatest architect), which were altered by Pacassi. The second volume of our work is going to give details about the artists who actually decorated the single rooms. It is characteristic that in most of the rooms foreign works of art were employed as for instance Chinese lacquer work, porcelain and jade, and also Indian miniatures.

Origin.—All the miniatures must be older than 1762, when they were adapted for the rooms of Schönbrunn and for the splendour of the Court of Empress Maria Theresia. We learn from reports that they were brought from Constantinople and as regards a part, this is certainly possible. But a part of them might have come via Holland, for some of the pictures were known to Rembrandt, unless these miniatures are typical and were used by Rembrandt in strikingly similar copies.

Description. -The volume of plates is dealing minutely with every single of the Rococo-panels in order to enable scientific research for those who cannot see the originals in Schönbrunn's. But even the lay public will scarcely be able to enjoy the miniatures unless they are looked upon carefully and then it will be seen that every single panel consists of a number of Indian pictures which have been joined together. We have therefore to state where every single miniature ends and this we could only do by taking every panel outside glass and frame and scrutinising it closely. The first volume is bringing forth the result of this investigation and has to be considered as necessary foundation for the whole work. But for the sake of brevity it must be anticipated that two kinds of miniatures are to be distinguished, *i.e.*, coloured and black and white pictures, the latter having the effect of drawings in tender shades. It is just this juxtaposition which gives special charm to the whole series.

I am giving an example for each of the two kinds, Fig. 2 shows one of the large panels, which in this case is composed of six miniatures which I am going to describe shortly so that the reader may find his way. It is in our Plate-volume XIn. 6 in that form, which we are calling the "large cross" (Height 93·4, Breadth 55·6 Cm).

The miniature is composed of two large parts one above another which are accompanied by two lateral pictures pieced together and by two more small pictures at the bottom.

A. Procession of the Prince on the elephant (Height 27.4 Cm, Breadth 18·3 Cm). Joined at the top and on the sides. The prince in the middle smells a rose, behind him on a second elephant a man carrying the umbrella. With him in one row on top of one another 5 riders. In front six men are marching, holding sticks, an incense-burner and two flags. The coloured sky is partly touched up.

B. Procession of the prince on a litter (Height 35.5 Cm, Breadth 22.9 Cm). The prince appears with the rose in his hand, carried by four men, surrounded by a semicircle of attendants, which opens towards a hilly landscape, where between rocks to the right and a castle to the left, an elephant with golden canopy is making his appearance. In front two elephants with flag-bearers, to the left pedestrians, to the right riders in dense row on top of one another.

C. Picture (Height 20·3 Cm, 6 13.8 Cm). Joined on top and to the left. A man and a woman facing each other on a meadow; in front of them a white cloth is

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Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

The Indian Room of Maria Theresia.

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spread, with food and drinks; to the right of it there is another woman and behind the man another man is standing while drinking. The picture shows traces of a second figure on the border, underneath the paper on the bottom bushes and 4 turban-bearers, seen from the back, are added. A sea-landscape with banks and hillocks in the background of the picnic and the trees to the right below are later additions.

D. Landscape with two people talking in the foreground. (Height 22·5 Cm, Breadth 12·9 Cm). A group of six male heads is inserted into the shrubs. The two are squatting to the left of a water-basin which is covered by a mat supported by the stems of trees. Behind there is water with lotuses and then hills, shored one behind the other, to the left with a white domed building behind trees, to the right with reddish buildings.

E. Assembly of four old men (Height 17·7 Cm, Breadth 10·2 Cm). The strip to the left is restored. The four are sitting on a blue carpet in the foreground set with plates and a tray with glasses. Three have books in front of them; two of them are taking a third one with the prayer-cord into their midst and raise their glasses. The fourth to the right embraces his knees with both his arms. A hilly landscape with buildings in the background.

F. Man and woman in front of thatched hut (Height 17·2 Cm, Breadth 10·2 Cm). The strip on the right border is restored. The man to the left with a apron, the woman to the right with a skirt. He holds a fish, she holds a basket with flowers. Behind the woman a round door, to the left a tree surrounded by a railing.

A cursory study already shews that the miniatures inserted in this panel are of different origin and are mixed together. From the head of the main figure with nimbus it is quite clear that the two main miniatures refer to Shah Jahan while the other are taken from different cycles of miniatures or else they are single independent miniatures. The miniature E, below, to the left is of the greatest interest, for, as is evident from the inscriptions on the four books who have four well known sheikhs in front of us, and the miniature is stated 1037 A.H. The names of three of them are given, the fourth is easier to be recognised by his attitude. The date 1627-28 is important, for it proves that the miniatures were not made to order at the time when Schonbrunn came into existence partly at least they are far older.

The miniature with the four sheikhs and the fishing scene next to it, belong to the best of Indian paintings that we possess. I therefore reproduce them in larger size once more. Figs. 3-4. While the scenes with Shah Jahan are of the sort of average type produced by the court artist of the great Moguls, these two miniatures on the other hand denote on the left a maturity of portrait painting in connection with a splendid decorative get up and on the right an expressive beauty tender in line and colour-tone, that we get enchanted and enjoy a climax of artistic development. I should think that the portrait miniature to the left is a masterpiece after the style of Persian painting, while the fishing scene to the right is a masterpiece more strongly permeated by the indigenous manner of painting. The 'large cross' as a whole represents a typical example of Moguls painting of the Persian kind.

I am giving fig. 5 (panel 15 of our Volume Pl.) as an example of the second group which is predominantly Indian. We call it 'Long panel' (Height 77·5, Breadth 38·7 Cm). Here not less than eight different miniatures are made use of, some of them for one figure only, for example one in the upper wedge-shaped part, and in the strap underneath two small figures to the left and one large to the right. Further on follows a section of a picture in the left sinuous part below, another fragment to the right and below in the last wedge-shaped section two fragments of paintings which are partly stuck on top of each other.

A. Mother with children (H. 11 Cm, 7, 7·4 Cm). Repairs on top, bottom and sidewards. A woman is walking to the left with a jug in the left. A boy is sitting astride on her left shoulder, to her right another boy is leading a dog.

B. Standing woman. (H. 12·2 Cm, B. 5·2 Cm). The painting is cut out along the outline in front of the figures and is

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partly stuck on the following picture. The woman is turned to the right, her head is slightly bent and covered by a veil. The hands are joined and raised in front of her chest.

C. Lady holding flowers (H. 16·1 Cm, B. 10 Cm). The lady is turned to the right holding flowers in both hands. She is dressed in pyjamas with grey stripes, and a transparent wrapper. A yellow scarf runs over her shoulders. Background and carpet, in common with the previous painting are altogether later additions.

D. Prince surrounded by women (H. 23·9 Cm, N. 17·5 Cm). Joined on the right. In front a fountain with bathing ducks. On a carpet with creeper pattern a prince with a halo is kneeling in front of a cushion. He stretches his hand with a rose to a lady who writes in squatting position. Behind her another woman with feather fan, behind the prince a servant girl with a fan of peacock feathers. The tree in the background is touched up in its upper parts, and so are all lawns which fetch into the next pictures as well as the pond to the left.

E. Two women standing opposite each other. (H. 16·1 Cm, B. 11 Cm approximately). The two lateral edges are not evenly cut according to the sweep of the trees painted over the joints. One lady with red-golden head-dress is turned to the left and gives a small goblet to the other in front of her. The landscape entirely retouched.

F. Lady with Lute (H. 12 Cm, B. 78 Cm). The lady turned to the left wears a dark head veil and holds a lute in front of her. Background painted over.

G. Standing man. (H. 14·7 Cm, B. 9 Cm). At the bottom and to the left additions. The bearded man stands to the left, rests his left on a sword and holds a flower in his right which is stretched out. Background painted over.

H. Lady smelling a flower (H. 10·5 Cm, B. 3·2 Cm). The figure is cut out according to the outline in front and is stuck over the previous picture.

Here again we find the same haphazard arrangement of the miniatures in one Rococo-panel and we have to examine the single paintings scrupulously to find their limits. The measurements which we are giving to indicate the size, are always minimum measures. We have to say in general that if we judge the treatment of the pictures with the spirit of the present age, we must call it barbarous, for they were cut just to fit into the Rococo-panels. In a similar way however also ancient European art was treated at that time and the masters of the preceding centuries had to tolerate at that period the same treatment.

Preservation.—In this condition the miniatures are well preserved. Some however suffered from not having been aired frequently enough by removing the glass—it was last done in 1902-1904—and some of them have become stained by damp. May be that this is due to the use which the Court made of this room in the previous years. It served as washing room.

II. Systematic analysis.—With regard to material and technique the miniatures fall at once into two essentially different groups, as mentioned above. One ought, however, not get confused by the coloured over-painting, which was added in Vienna in order to get seeming unity into the newly arranged pictures.

The two groups also differ with regard to subject-matter. The one comprises Court-scenes and portraits of members of the Court, while the second group is mainly devoted to scenes of everyday life, especially to scenes from the life of Indian women. The portraits commence with Timur and also show Aurangzib as a young prince, and so they bring together the Great Moguls, who lived at the time when the pictures were painted, and the Timurids, their ancestors, who had died long time ago. A great number of single portraits is also preserved but unfortunately without bearing any inscription, so that most of them can be identified only by comparison. Considering how sparingly inscriptions are used in our series, which has remained untouched, doubts arise whether the works of inscriptions in the great number of Indian albums actually dates back to the time when they have been painted or whether they are not added on later and so lack authenticity in some cases.

It is most probable that several of the miniatures form cycles, as for instance the

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Fig. 5.

The Indian Room of Maria Theresia.

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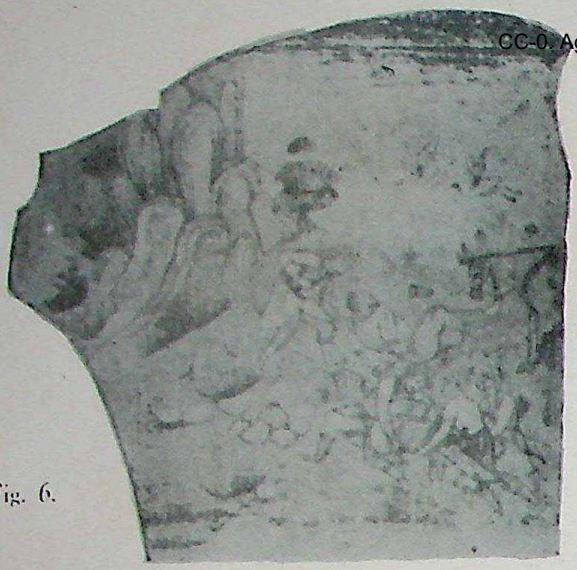

Fig. 6.

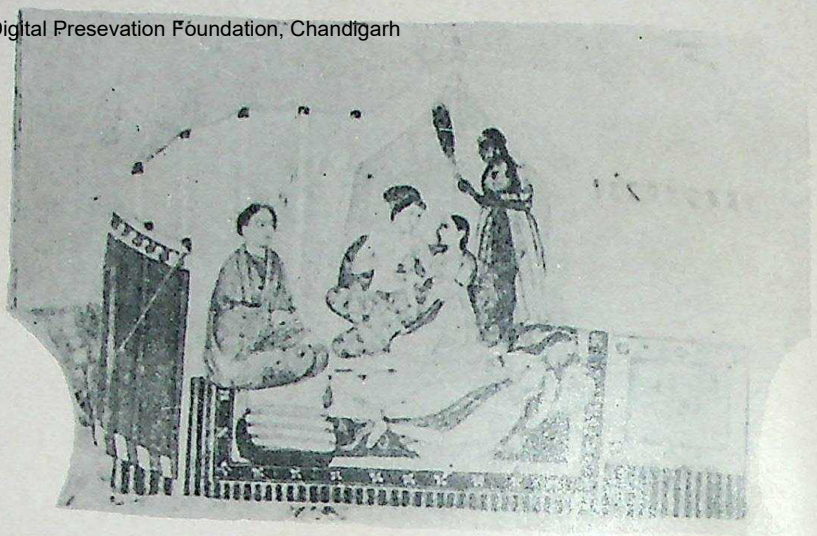

Fig. 7.

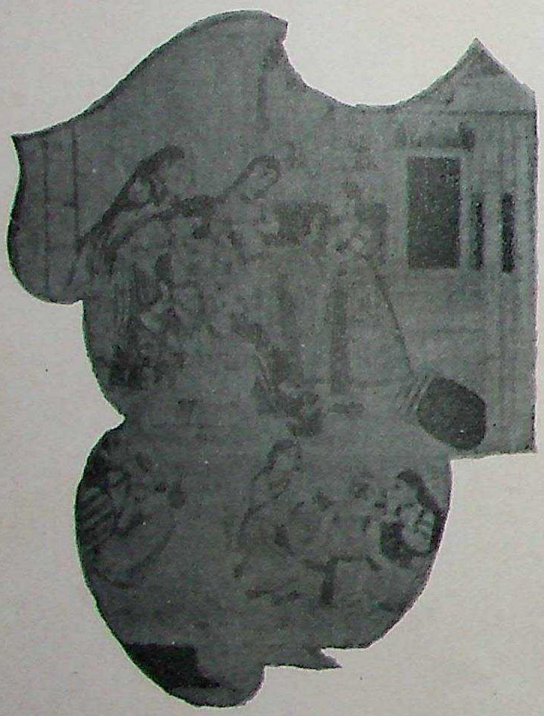

Fig. 9.

Fig.8.

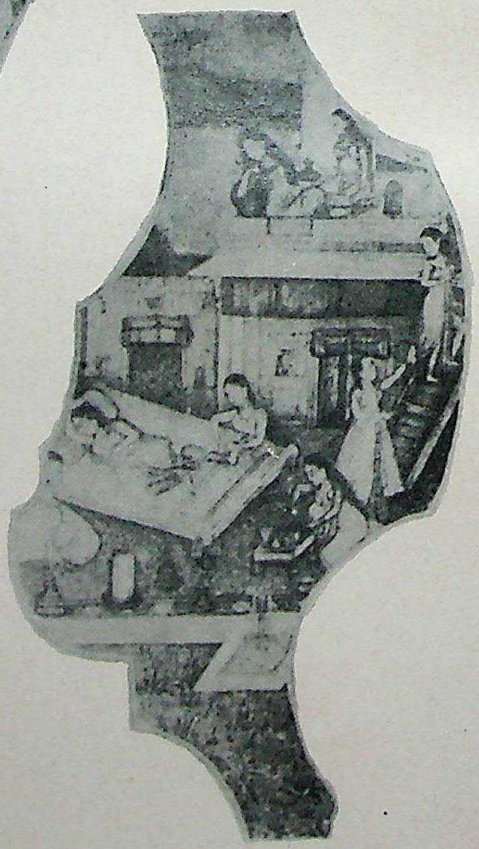

Fig. 11.
The Indian Room of Maria Theresia.

Fig. 10.

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61 pictures painted on cloths, and in the possession of the Austrian Museum at Vienna, illustrating the "Romance of Amir Hamzah." Its publication is in preparation. It is however difficult for us to find similar series. Some of the pictures may be identified as illustrations to the life of Emperor Akbar. But in general most of them are most probably independent single miniatures. The number of interesting single specimens is very large and we regret daily that we are unable to collaborate with our Indian colleagues. The Viennese illustrations to the Hamzah branch were brought to the world exhibition in 1873 by Persians, 24 pictures in London came from Srinagar and one from Teheran. Is nothing more known in India of this Mss. of the Humayun school and are there several of this kind. We shall attempt to restore the whole Mss. as far as it is preserved to-day and should like to place it in proper scientific position within the outlines which I tried to fix in my book : "The crisis of the Humaniora" as essential for the history of art. The present paper is also designed accordingly.

I would like to add some questions to these remarks, *cf.* Figs. 6—11. Are the subjects known which are represented in the accompanying illustrations ? Are they perhaps taken from novels then contemporary or are they nothing but genre pictures without reference to a special literary source. Some are of greatest significance to us in Europe. Fig 6 (20 B) looks like an illustration to Schiller's The Cranes of Ibykus.

Only the third part (Ain-i-Akbari) of Abul Fazl's Akbar-namah is accessible to us in English translation. Does any edition of the two first parts exist in any of the European languages ? Is any illustrated manuscript of the two first parts preserved in India ? And would it be possible to gain from there a list of the pictures with a description of the scenes represented ? Is anything known about the circulation of Indian miniatures in Europe or of European pictures in India during the 17th and 18th centuries ?

What is the Râga-motif ? Is it a religious, a musical or an artistic motif ? Is it an indigenous Indian motif, and what is its meaning ?

The representation of the human figure is in spite of the minute rendering of details severely restricted to the surface and this has a spaceless effect. The different degrees of this treatment are to be seen in the accompanying figures.

The costumes are familiar to us and so are the utensils, carpets, etc. ; one ought not to be misled by these additions painted later on, specially in Fig. 2 where the whole background to the left with the house on toys and the water basin below have been added. The richest collection of interesting antiquities is naturally to be found in connection with selves of homage, receptions, processions, theatrical performances, hunting scenes and at similar occasions, indoors and in the open air and especially in the harems and at garden-parties. The highest artistic quality is to be found in scenes taken from the life of hermits. All figures necessary there are drawn with greatest love by fine hair-brush and are clear in every detail.

The landscape is built in the surface and not towards depth, for clearness just as in the case of the human figure is the first postulate which the painters endeavoured to satisfy. It is just here that the Viennese painters made the most exhaustive additions. It is similar with regard to the architectural backgrounds. Quite distinct types are represented there and we are going to tackle them in our forthcoming work.

With regard to significant form, it must be admitted that unity of the effect so spoiled for European painting in spite of its endeavour of being Indo-Persian is interpolated between the original miniatures in order to connect them. This sometimes effects disturbing spatial impressions in a similar way as the combination of the original miniatures was done by force, *cf.* Fig. 1 how Shah Jahan's suite becomes detached from the shrubs to the right. But once these disturbing accessories are recognised and the Indian originals held in mind, we see that consistent kind of significant form which is so familiar to us. First of all, an indication of depth is lasting in the architectonic and landscape backgrounds. The backgrounds are constructed as well in the more Persian as in the more Indian

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miniatures, according to the traditional Iranian manner, *i.e.*, in vertical direction. And it is characteristic that overlapping is avoided as much as possible, at least within the main groups. Only where it is openly endeavoured to indicate a crowd by some figures, these are showed one behind the other as in Fig. 1 in front of and behind Shah Jahan. In this way the arrangement of groups appears loose and it is rarely massed together as in the group of the Sheikhs in Fig. 3. Light and shade are entirely missing, all the figures appear in the same bright light. About the colours we can speak only in front of the originals or of coloured reproductions, of which few are going to appear in the volume of plates. I point again to the two groups and to the fact that the effect of the coloured group is strongly emphasised by the employment of gold. With regard to the 'inner-meaning' the signatures of artists would be of greatest importance. But hitherto we were unable to discover a single one. They do not seem to have been in use in India similar to the other inscriptions at the time when the pictures were painted. This is very striking when compared with the predilection of the Persian painters who fix their names everywhere. And so we are compelled to reconstruct the personality of artists by grouping miniatures according to the similarity of artistic qualities. In general however it seems to be one of the principle of of the paintings of the Great Moguls, that an outstanding personality is lacking. Nevertheless one would expect that more ought to be known concerning a master, like the one who painted the four sheikhs or the other who painted the fisher-scene Figs. 3-4.

III. Development.—To the scholar in the field of pictorial art, the evolution of Indian art begins with the connection of the pre-Aryan soil and blood of India with that aequatorial art, which must have had its centre in Africa and which passed into Egypt in historical times. In India this pre-Aryan art may be judged from the caves and rock buildings which came into existence later on. It was only from the immigration of the Aryans onward that India became detached from the South and was brought into closer unity with Asia, which in its essence is Northern. The Iranians who immigrated into India, similar to the Northern immigrants into Hellas abandoned their customary ways, *i.e.*, to express art immediately through the movement of lines and colours and adopted the human figure from the South. But its appearance in this case is somewhat different from that achieved by the Greeks. First of all it never loses the linear sway characteristic for the North and less than in Hellas it is made into something posing between nature and art.

I tried to demonstrate in my book "Altai-Iran" how the Indian ornamentation of the Sanchi-Period is permeated by landscape and further on I shewed in a small pamphlet "Landscape in Northern art" how in the caves of Ajanta the same kind of geometrical landscape appears, which we find in the ancient Christian mosaics in Italy and in Chinese antiquities. All that appears has its origin and centre in Iran. Only recently a landscape was found in the Kurgan of Maikop dating back to the third millenium B. C. which, although palæolithic in details, yet already exhibits characteristic features of Northern, *i.e.* of neolithic and Bronze-age conception. It is a long way from all these examples up to the miniatures of the 17th and 18th century in Schonbrunn. But these things had to be mentioned in order to fix the frame into which questions with regard to the origin of Indian art have to be placed. The indigenous development is not so much interrupted by Greek or Roman-Hellenistic influences as by those currents which sprang again and again from that soil which once upon a time the immigrant Aryans had left behind them; from there, *i. e.* from Iran and Persia they found their way to India, and most decidedly when Islam invaded the land of Indus and Ganges.

The Painting of the Great Moguls in India is not religious and has nothing directly to do with Islam, but on the other hand the court life of the Timurids took such deep root in the Indian soil, that in Europe the opinions are divided as to whether the whole painting has to be taken as Persian or Indian or Indo-Persian, as it is usually called. It is well known that the scholars are not decided about this point and how much a clear decision is needed. We

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shall try to arrive at a decision in our work. The way towards it will be a methodical investigation of the facts according to continuity, will and movement.

I. *Continuity.*—The Historian in his endeavour to recognise the development, makes soil and blood his starting points. So in this case he is not going to talk about Babar and Akbar, Bihzad and Persian painting and their respective fate, but he is going to make his starting point in India itself and to observe the struggle of the indigenous with the new ways. Not the rulers and their succession will be in the foreground as it is usually and also observed by Binyon, but Indian art, temporarily pushed back by them, will occupy this place. It is therefore our task to make the acquaintance of Indian painting at the moment when Babar conquered Indian soil and when Akbar's will seems to produce a flourishing art as if by magic. We would be grateful to our Indian colleagues if in this respect they could help us with new material. During the last few years the Rajput school has been put into the foreground. Is it the only one ? We, in Vienna, should like to know whether the rest of India has not preserved indigenous traditions and whereto locally we have to trace back the roots of the paintings of the Schonbrunn series which are predominantly Indian. In general we may say that these indigenous Indian elements will occupy the foreground as far as problems of constancy are concerned.

II. *Will.*—The "golden age" of the Art of the Great Moguls was caused by their will, in a similar way as the art of Imperial Rome. The possibilities which there were offered by Greek and Hellenistic traditions were brought to India by the Islamic rulers from Samarkand and Persia. In so far the term 'Indo-Persian' would be rightly applied to this art, for Mogul art did not remain Persian for a long time, but it received very quickly strong influences from the Indian soil and blood and so it soon became almost purely Indian. Although in dealing with the will for power, we have to follow the attitudes of the Moguls in temporal sequence, as it was done by Binyon, we must be aware that this will undoubtedly is something transitory and lasted for too short a time to be able to make Indian art leave its own course. It was through the course of one century and a half approximately that the conquerors were able to dominate Indian art according to their will. Problems of the will are the main cause for these influences from the side of the Court.

III. *Movement.*—Under this heading we shall have to deal with all that is accidental in the development, which we are used to call "history" and which has a bearing on the evolution, *i.e.*, the inner growth, the maturity and the decay of pictorial art, quite different from that which history attributes to it. There can be no doubt however that the conquest of the country had an enormous significance with regard to the evolution and that Islamic art in India was as deeply changed as the indigenous art, itself. It will be the subject of the investigation of this chapter on the pure movement of the evolution, in what way in every detail the fusion of the new Persian and the customary Indian manner, took place during the time of the Great Moguls.

IV. *The Spectator.*—There is no systematic work by an expert Historian of art dealing with Indian miniatures. We must be grateful however that during the last years the material at least in London and Oxford was brought before the public by Arnold and Binyon, that in Berlin by Sattar Kheiri and lately by Kuhnel. The best we owe to Coomaraswamy. The comprehensive works on Persian miniature-painting by Martin and Schulz contain at the end also materials from Indian art. In our text volume it will be our endeavour to attempt a systematic treatment, but we are afraid it will have to remain a fragmentary work. Therefore we are anxious to know the Indian treatises which probably we did not come across. Perhaps the present paper will bring us help. In any case I would attribute great value to this connection, which I hoped to enter by my call to Santiniketan. My book "The crisis of the Humaniora (the science of the spirit) and its dedication to Rabindra Nath Tagore prove how highly I treasure the Indian spirit and how much I would wish that attention would be paid

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to it in Europe not only from the point of view of the philosopher but also in some aspects as the supreme worldly wisdom. It is true the miniatures with which we have to deal in the Rococo-panels in Schonbrunn and in the Hamzah-namah belong to a strange mixture of the Despotism of Westeren Asia and the contemplative wisdom of India. But it may be that by pointing out the contrast which becomes apparent through a contemplation and explanation of the miniatures we might stimulate those ideas which are so much needed in our age and which were never so decidedly emphasized as just from India, by Tagore.

IV.—DR. GOETZ ON RAJPUT PAINTING.*

IN an essay in the first volume of the "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," Dr. Coomaraswamy called attention to the significance of the miniature-paintings from Rajputana and the spurs of the Himalaya mountains north of the Punjab, both as works of art and from the point of view of the history of culture. In "Indian Drawings," Volume 2, which appeared in the same year, the same scholar published for the first time a considerable series of these leaves, which were followed in 1916 by the large, exhaustive work "Rajput Painting." Side by side with a thorough analysis of the subject-matter and of the æsthetic values, Coomaraswamy attempted to compile the history of these paintings at least in its most important outlines. Since then other scholars have agreed with his valuations, thus Percy Brown (Indian Painting, Calcutta, 1918), Petrucci (Burlington Magazine, 1916), Kühnel (Miniature-Painting in the Islamic East, 1922), Binyon (Journal R. A. S., 1913). Quite recently the Indian scholars took up this theme. A series of miniatures was published and explained in the pages of *Rupam*, but no new light was thrown upon their historical position. This omission is all the more regrettable, as the problems of Rajput painting are momentous for the judgment as to the origin of the whole of modern Indian painting, a question which, unfortunately, has hitherto been treated almost exclusively from more general, often very subjective, æsthetic and cultural—political viewpoints.

Coomaraswamy seldom gives reasons for his opinion on the origin and age of the various miniature leaves; occasionally it is possible to ascertain that, in addition to general grounds of style, the forms of handwriting and those of the architecture occurring in the pictures, have been utilised as landmarks. Unfortunately Coomaraswamy does not in any way tell us in his essays why he has hardly made any use at all of the representation of costumes in the pictures, which is generally such a favourite aid to chronology. It is certainly true that a chronology cannot be formulated from the costume types occurring in the Rajput paintings, without other aid. Indeed, the frequently occurring shepherd scenes show just as little of the folk-types as do the pastoral pictures of the Rococo, and they are valueless for chronological purposes. However, even a casual examination will show the numerous aspects which connect these costumes with those in vogue at the Court of the Great Moguls.

The fact that the Rajput States, in spite of their various privileges, had very close relations with the Court of Delhi and Agra, has hitherto been left too much out of account. A history of these relations has not yet been written. The attempt by Heinrich Blochmann, "The Hindu Rajas under the Mogul Government" (Calc. Review, 1871) does not take us beyond the history of the Kachhwaha-Rajas of Amber. It will therefore perhaps not be amiss to give a short summary of the most important facts of the Rajput politics of the Moguls down to the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb; for at the breaking-up of the Timurid Empire after the death of this emperor, the levelling process between the culture of Mohammedans and Hindus had advanced so far that, from this period down to the beginning of the 19th century, we can see the modes in the Rajput States generally following those at the Imperial Court, the more so as many of the great Rajas of that period exercised no small influence at court. Apart from that, the rigorous politics of Aurangzeb had already suppressed the last relics of indigenous fashions even in matters of costume.

The conditions of the earlier period are more complicated. Before the rule of the Great Moguls, the Muslim rulers of India had, on the whole, contented themselves with the subjection of the native zemindars, without interfering further with their internal affairs. However, since the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) had remoulded the empire of his father from a national colonial state of the Chagatai Turks into a state of nationalities, in which the Hindu princes served as a counter-weight to the Turkish and Persian Omrahs who were often in rebellion, they came into the closest relations with the Court.[1]

[1] A fact which is far too little emphasized! Akbar's policy was much more than a mere policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims.—The Pathans (Afghans) had been excluded from the higher positions in the State, after the bad experiences of Humayun.

* Specially Translated for *Rupam* from the original article in the "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift" Vol. 1|4 1923.

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The constitution of the State of the Rajputs was built up on the feudal system originating in blood-relationship. It was in the interest of Akbar to bind them to him with similar bonds. The eternal feud between the various tribes drove more especially the Kachhwaha-Rajas of Amber and the Rathors of Bikanir, to seek his friendship and to offer him their daughters in marriage, notwithstanding the reluctance born of pride in their caste. Rajas Bihari Lal[2] and Rai Singh[3] entered into family[4] relationship with the dynasty of the Great Moguls, and above all, Man Singh[5] won by these bonds of blood an all-powerful influence at the emperor's court, beside the grand vizier Abu'l-Fazl. The intrigues as to the succession of the Emperor Akbar's successor Jehangir (1605-1628) caused Man Singh to fall into disfavour : his place was taken by Raja Bir Singh Deo of Orcha, who at the desire of the Crown Prince had murdered Abu'l-Fazl, because the latter had attempted to exclude the Crown Prince from the succession.

Nevertheless the relations between the Raja of Orcha and the court were by no means close. It is true that the emperor permitted the Raja to build the splendid Krishna temple at Mathura quite near to the residence, the temple being pulled down later by Emperor Aurangzeb,[6] but otherwise he did not interfere in the affairs of the Bundelas. His relations with the Rajas of the Pahari mountains north of Lahore were much closer. Raja Sangram[7] of Jammu[8] and Raja Basu[9] of Mau and Pathankot, who held sway over the land around Kangra, belonged to the more influential among the small zemindars at the emperor's court. A rebellion of Raja Basu's son Suraj Mal, which led to a lengthy siege of the citadels of Kangra by Shaikh Farid Bukhari,[10] drew the attention of Jehangir still more to this territory, where, after a visit with the Empress Nurjahan,[11] he planned the erection of a palace. The town of Dahmari was at that time renamed "Nurpur" in honour of the empress.[12] Raja Basu's son Jagat Singh[13] then occupied one of the most influential positions amongst the Rajas in the service of the Great Moguls, under Jehangir's successor Shahjahan (1628-1659). As Commander of 14,000 men, he was one of the leaders of the great expedition against the Uzbeks of Balkh. Beside him we hear most of Raja Jasvant Singh of Jodhpur, the most respected soldier in the emperor's army. Nevertheless the influence of the Rajputs at that period was much less than that of the Persians, since the family of the Empress Nurjahan[14] occupied the important positions at court. It was not until Aurangzeb's reign (1659-1707) that their power was again to be felt more definitely. It is true that the extreme, puritanical Islamic policy of the emperor might well lead one to suppose that, precisely under his régime, which witnessed renewed oppression of the Hindus everywhere, during which the great Brahman temples were demolished throughout the land,[15] in which the poll-tax for unbelievers was reintroduced,[16] the Hindu element in society would recede more and more. As a matter of fact it was not so. The great Deccan wars swallowed up endless masses of soldiers, and the reliable troops of the Rajputs could by no means be dispensed with ; the emperor, who generally oppressed the Hindus as much as he could, found himself compelled to make pacts with their larger States, whether he wanted to or not. The only attempt to destroy the power of Jodhpur[17] led to a crisis which nearly caused the fall of Aurangzeb.[18] Most important of all was, however, the fact that the immense over-tension of the whole politics of the empire was such that a large part of the emperor's ordinances existed only on paper.[19] In view of the eternal complications of the Deccan policy, it was simply impossible to exercise control over the execution of orders from the court. Therefore, whilst on the one hand the anti-Hindu policy of the emperor provoked the self-consciousness of the Rajputs, on the other hand it was responsible for an advance in cultural life at the courts of the Rajas, especially in the realms of music, painting, etc, in

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[2]Rajputana Gazetteer, 1879, II, 136, A'in-i-Akbari I, 328.

[3]Rajputana Gazetteer, I, 183. A'in-i-Akbari, I, 357, etc.

[4]A grand-daughter of Bihari Lal was the mother of the Prince Khurram; his daughter was Akbar's wife. Rai Singh was married to a sister of Jehangir's mother Jodh Bai.

[5]Grandson of Bihari Lal.

[6]Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri. Elliot-Dowson, VII, 184

[7]Waqi'at-i-Jahangiri. Elliot-Dowson, II, 374. and other places.

[8]Akbar-Namah. Elliot-Dowson, VI, 125, etc.

[9]It would be desirable for the Raj Darshani (Tavarikh-i-Rajanagan-i-Jamun) by Ganeshdas Badhrah, Brit. Mus. Qr. 1634 and India Office 507, to be subjected to examination on this point!

[10]Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, 1909, 283.

[11]Waqi'at-Jahangiri. Elliot-Dowson, VII 381, etc.

[12]Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1883-84, I.

[13]ditto.

[14]Shahjahan's wife Muntaz-i-Mahal was the niece of Nurjahan, who was of Persian birth.

[15]Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Calcutta 1912, III, 801, etc., 319, etc.

[16]ditto. III, 305, etc.

[17]Rajput war, since 1679.

[18]Rising of Prince Akbar 1681 at Ajmir.—Cf. for both, ibid, III, 365, etc.

[19]More especially in his last years.

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which the artists had been driven from the court by the puritanism of the emperor, and now sought positions at the native courts. Besides Kangra, whose Raja Rajrup[20] had known how to preserve for himself the influence which his fathers had exercised at court, Rajauri, Bikanir and Orcha now step into the foreground. First and foremost, Mirza Raja Jaisingh was indispensable to the emperor, whose right hand he was in the execution of the diplomatic negotiations with the various Hindu princes in and beyond the Mogul empire. The Raja of Rajauri was the father of Aurangzeb's wife Navab Bai.[21] Lastly Orcha had, since the Bundela war[22] (1635), entered into fairly close relations with the Moguls, as the Raja Debi Singh was not able to maintain himself unaided, and was constantly in need of support from his allies against his own people. On the other hand, Jodhpur and Udaipur were in a more or less hostile relationship to the court, since Aurangzeb had attempted to take Jasvant Singh's son, Ajit Singh prisoner and to set him aside. However, even they could not keep aloof from the general, levelling currents in the cultural movement of the period. Thus Aurangzeb's time was precisely one of those periods in Indian history, in which Hindu and Muslim culture have been the most united.[23] It was the time which gave to the externals of Indian life their modern appearance. The succeeding periods have, no doubt, built on to this development, but as a matter of fact have added very few important changes. The breaking-up of the Mogul empire did not dissolve the relations of the Rajputs with the Delhi court, but merely changed them, and it is precisely that Golden Age of the reign of Savai Jai Singh II.[24] Of Amber-Jaipur in the Rajput history of the 18th century, which has the closest exchange of culture with the court of the Mogul Emperor Muhammad Shah (1718-1748).

When judging these connection we must keep in mind the great significance of the many connections by marriage between the Rajput dynasties and the Mogul court. The Hindu princesses brought with them a large retinue of their own: female attendants, female dancers, female musicians, etc. Now, as since the time of Akbar, more and more Rajput princesses were admitted to the harem of the Great Moguls, princesses whose powerful connections necessitated a far-reaching measure of consideration being given them, it is not surprising that, generally speaking, they retained their customs and usages,[25] and that, in this way the usages of the harem of the Mogul emperors were gradually very much modified in accordance with the customs of the Hindus. The more so, as the mode of life of the Muslim women at the emperor's court was already to a great extent hinduised on account of the constant marriages of Hindu girls into the families of the great Omrahs also, and the differences had become not so much differences of culture, as of creed. In some places the levelling went so far, that even Muslim women married into purely Hindu families,[26] a thing which would have been an impossibility in earlier times. The result of this was that, whilst the men's costume throughout the country was modelled upon that worn at court, the ancient costume of the Muslim women was completely ousted by that of the Hindu women, since the time of Akbar: with the exception of a few garments which were introduced by decrees of the emperors even among the Hindu women, and made obligatory.

Down to the first years of the reign of the Emperor Akbar, the Central-Asiatic costume, as we know it from the paintings of the Herat school, was in vogue at the court of the Great Moguls. Side by side with this, Persian currents from the court of the Shah Tahmasp made themselves felt under the Emperor Humayun.[27] With the coming of Akbar's reforms, the Mogul dress, too, began to undergo a complete change. The Takauchiyah,[28] now became the typical garment: this garment had already previously been universally worn in India and fastened under the left shoulder, whereas amongst Mohammedans the fastening was on the right side, a custom which thence remained prevalent in the Mogul empire, and which is later expressly mentioned by Niccolao Manucci.[29] The Takauchiyah has changed only very slightly in the course of time. Under Jehangir it had points on both sides on the lower border.[30] Its length changed slowly in the course of time, and since the period of Muhammad Shah, it has reached down to the ankles.[31] The fashion of head-gear changed far more quickly. Under Akbar we find two different forms, a flat turban wound round with narrow, dark ribbon,[32] which

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[20]Ma'asir-al-Umara, II, 277-81.

[21]Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, 61-63.

[22]ibid. I, 14, etc.

[23]Cf. for this, above all, the graphic descriptions in Manucci's "Storia do Mogor."

[24]Rajputana Gazetteer, II, 135, etc.

[25]Jodh Bai Maryam-az-Zamani was even able to continue her native cult in the zenana.—Cf. also the adoption of the Rajput custom of weighing the king against gold, etc., since the time of Akbar. Padishahnamah, 1,243.
Padishahnamah, 1243.

[27]The costumes of the earlier Mogul period are very nicely put together in the border paintings of Libr. pict. A 112 of the Prussian State Library.

[28]Ain-i-Akbari, I, 88.

[29]Storia do Mogor, 1907, II, 122.

[30]Cf. pict. A. 117, fol. 18b. and others.

[31]Plate 5.

[32]e.g. Kuhnel, Minaturen-Malerei in islamischen Orient, 1922, Fig. 117.

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had probably come into fashion amongst the Uzbeks,[33] and a second one, somewhat bolder,[34] the shape of which resembled those in vogue in the Shiitic states of the Deccan.[35] Under Jehangir its appearance was rather more like those in vogue in Persia at the period of Shah 'Abbas the Great.[36] When, owing to the long Deccan wars, many emirs of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur went over to the service of the Great Mogul, when Sultan Khurram, later Shah Jehan, himself took command on the southern theatre of war, the types of turbans began to approximate nearer and nearer to the Deccan shape again, at first flatter and more broken, in the later years of the emperor, more circular.[37] Since the campaigns of Aurangzeb, the Deccan turban began to make itself quite at home, at first in a variety which looked almost rhomboidal from the side-view,[38] and since the time of Bahadur Shah, when the influence of the subadars began to dominate the politics of the Delhi court, in the usual pointed form.

Women's dress, on the other hand, shows far more striking changes. Here too, Hindu fashion began to displace the old Mogul costume in the reign of Akbar, since the princesses of Amber and Jodhpur had become wives of the emperor. The Codex of Razmnamah,[39] which is to-day in the possession of the Maharaja of Jaipur, and which was illuminated by famous painters under Akbar's orders, gives us a clear picture of the costume of these princesses with their strikingly long choli. Under Jehangir this costume can no longer be traced: in its stead we see three other forms of Hindu women's dress. The Choli appears in two new forms, the one much shorter, with a pleated collar round the neck,[40] the other with three-cornered, horizontally folded pieces inserted over the breast.[41] It seems reasonable to assume that they are of various origins, but so far it has not been possible to prove this conclusively; nevertheless there are several grounds for believing that the former was the fashion in Kangra, and the latter possibly in Jammu. Lastly, the third fashion shows a long dress with long sleeves, with which trousers were worn at that period even by the Hindu women: the dress was cut low on the breast, and was also finished off by a pleated collar.[42] It cannot apparently be traced back to any costume of the Moguls, but appears in the very earliest miniatures of Jammu.[43] We may suppose that this dress was introduced there at the time of the Sur dynasty, which for the time being dominated Jammu,[44] and that it is an Indian further development of the fashions of the Timuride period, as known from the miniatures of Agha Mirak. Instead of the sari a short scarf for the head was occasionally worn,[45] probably also taken from earlier Persian fashions. A striking characteristic of this period is a peculiar headgear circular in shape with a pointed button, which was worn at the left side of the parting of the hair over the Tika.[46] During Shah Jehan's reign nearly all these costumes went out of fashion : only the last mentioned one of the long-sleeved dress remained generally at the Mogul court as well as at a great part of the Rajput courts, in Rajputana since Aurangzeb.[47] Very often, but not always, a short, quite plain Choli was worn beneath it;[48] under Aurangzeb the latter was even dispensed with to a great degree.[49] On the other hand the Choli was, since the time of Muhammad Shah, again worn universally under the dress, the girdle of which moved higher and higher up since the days of Aurangzeb, until at the beginning of the second half of the 18th century the female costume[50] developed out of it, which is well-known from the classical Kangra miniatures of the time of Raja Sansar Chand.[51] On the other hand, the custom of wearing trousers, as far as Hindu women of the higher classes were concerned, only began in the later years of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, after several decrees of both emperors had compelled them to do this.[52] The use of trousers by women in the Indian miniatures does not therefore necessarily indicate that the women are Muslims. We even find

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[33]Cf. the miniatures of the Bokhara school; Martin, "Miniature Painting."

[34]See for instance, in the Razm-Nama.

[35]Kuhnel, Plate 104.

[36]Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, London, 1909, frontispiece. Sattar Kheiri, Indische Miniaturen, Plate 18.

[37]Sattar Kheiri, Plates 16, 32.

[38]See the Manucci MS. in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

[39]Th. H. Hendley, Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition, 1883, Vol. IV: The Razm-Nama.—A'in-i-Akbori, I, 108.

[40]Plate1, left side; 2.

[41]Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, II, pl. 29.

[42]Plate 1, right side. Coomaraswamy, pl. 27: A Bangiya Padâbali, 1915, p. 115. Museum f. Volkerkunde, Berlin I C 24352, cf. my essay in "Cicerone" 1923, Plate 2.

[43]Cf. the very archaic leaf in the Museum f. Volkerkunde in Munich, 13-92-13.

[44]Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi. Elliot-Dowson, IV, 415.

[45]e.g. on the Munich miniature leaf.

[46]e.g. Plate 1.—Guide, Plate 2.

[47]Sattar Kheiri, Indische Miniaturen, Fig. 35. —Jaipur, Middle 18 cent.

[48]Kuhnel, Plate 125.

[49]Sattar Kheiri, Indisc Miniaturen der islamischen Zeit, Fig. 33, 43.

[50]Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1883-84 Ujfalvy, The Western Himalayas, 1884.

[51]Plate 3.

[52]Kalimat-i-Tayyibat, cit. J. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, III, 105 etc., and others.

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representations of Asparas, Indian goddesses, like Devi and of Gopis[53] in this so-called Mohammedan costume[54] since the second half of the 17th century. Of course many differences in the costume at the courts of Delhi and at the Rajput residences have been traced for the various periods, but those which we have mentioned so far will suffice for the purpose of this essay.

If we now apply these outlines of the history of Indian costume gleaned from portraits and dateable miniature leaves, to the chronological calculations of Coomaraswamy—see "Rajput Painting,"— one is first and foremost inclined to place the great Râgmâlâ Series,[55] which Coomaraswamy assigns to the middle of the 16th century, in the beginning of the 18th century. The female costumes are in opposition to those which are known to us of 16th century Jaipur, and the turbans of the men show forms which can only belong to the period between the last years of Aurangzeb's reign and the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign. As the painting of Jaipur is well known to us of this period in particular, it is quite impossible that these comparatively primitive miniatures can be of Jaipur origin. Coomaraswamy has himself expressed the assumption elsewhere ("Art in America"), (though without following it up further) that the home of these miniatures may have been Orcha. This is certainly far more probable. We may place in the 16th century with any degree of certainty only the MS. in the so-called "Mixed Mughal and Rajput Style" from the illustrations to the Rasikapriya of Kesavadas, of which one leaf has been published in "Rajput Painting"[56] and another leaf has appeared in the translation of Vidyapati Thakur's "Bangiya-padâbali."[57] These can be assigned with certainty to Akbar's time, not only by their dating, but also by the costumes represented thereon.

The other uncertainties of dating refer to the earlier paintings of the Pahari school. [58]If these are inspected from the point of view of the costumes, then the oldest of the leaves which have been published, must be the one published in Plate 29, followed by the Ramayana series, Plates 21-23. Near to these we must place also the Râgmâlâ series in Libr. pict. A 11 of the Prussian State Library in the possession of the Great Elector.[59] All these miniatures show that peculiar form of the Choli, as known to us from the Mogul miniatures of the time of Jehangir. The third type of the female costumes of the time of Jehangir then occurs in the miniatures of the Nayika series in Plate 17 A and B, and these two make it probable that these types of costumes may be localised to Jammu. The miniatures which immediately follow them already show a plain, flat Choli,[60] but even amongst these we still find instances of the abovementioned headgear; amongst these there are already leaves from Kangra. We may then take as following upon these as regards chronology—also those leaves which deal for the most part with Krishna—(Plate 26 a, 28 a, 30, 31, 32 a, a few leaves in the possession of the Volkerkunde Museum in Munich 13-2-7 and 13-2-13.) They form the transition to the earlier phases of the classical Pahari style,[62] which reached its zenith at that period when, in the second half of the eighteenth century Raja Sansar Chand, temporarily, united the Katoch Rajputs into one empire, which, however, even in his own reign, fell a victim to the Sikhs.

Thus, on broad lines, we may trace a development in the style of the Rajput miniatures, on the basis of costume. It is certainly striking that its earliest works approach very nearly to the style of certain miniatures of the Mogul school. However, when compared with them, the oldest Rajput miniatures are strikingly clumsy in their presentation, however bold the subject which they attempt. Towards the close of the seventeenth century an independent style begins to develop, which already shows the characteristic peculiarities of later Rajput art: the peculiar relief-like presentation, the lively rhythm of the lines, which carry on the expression and the movement of the figures in a curious manner, the forceful, independent emphasis of the line effects and the distribution of space, the tendency everywhere to push into the foreground the stronger inner experience and the expression, as opposed to a naturalistic presentation.

Beside this, the canon of the representation of figures (bodies) gives evidence of quite a characteristic development. The figures of the sixteenth century are far more thick-set and much shorter than those of the later period, the heads strikingly large, the forehead almost perpendicular: the head almost makes a quadrangle with the one corner at the upper part of the forehead.[63] In the course of the seventeenth century the forehead becomes more receding,[64] and the figures more slender. In the first half of the eighteenth century the form of the head becomes so pointed that one could almost project it into a quadrangle, the angles of which did not coincide, as one might expect, with the chin and the

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[53]Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, Vol. II, pls. 27A, 44, 65, 70A, 71A.

[54]Kuhnel, p. 68. Grundwedel (Berliner Museen, Reports of Prussian Art Collections, 192, p. 175, etc.)

[55]pls. 1-3. Fig. 4.

[56]pl. 18 A.

[57]p. 33.

[58]Pahari ("mountain") school, the Painting in the spurs of the Himalaya from Kashmir to Garhval.

[59]Plates 1 and 2.

[60]Coomaraswamy, pls. 26.

[61]pls. 49 A and B.

[62]Plate 5

[63]Cf. for instance Razm-Nama.

[64]Cf. Plates 1, 2, 7.

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upper edge of the forehead, but with the nose and the parting of the hair.[65] Since the middle of the eighteenth century there was again a tendency towards a more naturalistic representation of the head. This curious development of the head-proportions is, however, common to Rajput art and to contemporary Mogul painting. We have here a second, even though less reliable, aid for the chronology of Rajput painting. For instance, if we apply it to the abovementioned Râgmâlâ series, we obtain identical chronological results. One should observe the similarity of the head-form in Coomaraswamy, Plate 3,[66] with the portrait of the young emperor Muhammed Shah reproduced here;[67] both of them lead us to assume their having been painted in the first half of the eighteenth century. This is the more noteworthy, as these phenomena in the canon show themselves to be wholly independent of the general development of style of the Rajput schools or of the various branches of Mogul painting. It is surely possible to continue these observations still further, but unfortunately, in view of the unfavourable conditions obtaining at the present time, the writer has not sufficient material at his disposal. Broadly speaking, one may agree with Coomaraswamy's assumptions about the eighteenth century, even if many of the miniatures are 20—30 years later than he thinks fit to date them.

What conclusions may be drawn therefrom for the history and position of Rajput art ? As far as is known hitherto, Rajput paintings only occur at such of the Hindu courts as were in close relationship with the Great Mogul Court. Amongst these, Jodhpur and Udaipur are exceptions, curiously enough. This may easily be explained by the fact that these two states stood in a more or less defensive, indeed hostile, relationship towards the Mogul Court, and only unwillingly acknowledged the overlordship of the emperors of Delhi. Furthermore, the earliest Rajput paintings always only appear at the time when the relations between the Rajput centres of any particular time and the Mogul Court had become very close. Bikanir may be left out of account: the works of art which have so far been made known from there, unfortunately do not suffice to draw any further conclusions. The oldest Rajasthani paintings which can be definitely dated, belong to the time of the Emperor Akbar, and evince a striking similarity in their manner, with the contemporary paintings of the Razm-Nama Manuscript. It is very likely, though it cannot as yet be conclusively proved, that these paintings are closely related to Akbar's friend Raja Man Singh, of whom we also hear otherwise as a patron of art and music.[68] It is true that he is nowhere called the Maecenus of painting. On the other hand, the miniatures which are thought to originate in Orcha, belong to the period round about 1700, when, after the Bundela wars, Orcha was more dependent upon the court of Delhi.

The oldest Pahari miniatures are most closely related to the culture of the time of the Emperor Jehangir, just at that time when Raja Sangram sojourned at the court, when the Katoch dynasty of Kangra began to enter into closer relations at court, when the emperor himself sojourned in the mountains of Kangra. Now there occur amongst the Pahari paintings miniature leaves showing many points of resemblance to the style of the Mogul miniatures of the court of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb.[69] That is precisely the period at which Jagat Singh and Rajrup occupied their influential posts in the army of the Moguls. All this makes it seem probable that, for the most part, Rajput painting was no independent product, but that it arose under the influence of the Mogul court. We know nothing about Rajput paintings from literary works. However, the only case in which we know a Rajput painter and can trace the history of his family, leads us in the same direction. The famous Mola Ram traces his genealogy back to two Hindu painters who had fled under Aurangzeb with Sulaiman Shikoh from the Ganges plain into the mountains of the Garhval State of Srinagar.[70] One can hardly, it is true, affirm that Rajput painting is a branch of Mogul art. The most recent researches have shown that Mogul painting is by no means, as was formerly thought,[71] an importation and branch of Persian art, but that it is a curious development of the Indian painting of the preceding centuries,[72] in itself almost a sealed book to us, which under the protection of the Mogul emperors developed its unique characteristics, being at first influenced by Persian ideas of art, and then later, since the time of Jehangir, very strongly influenced by European art-notions.[73] In all probability one will have to trace Rajput painting back to those Indian schools which preceded Mogul art and formed its basis, and which still ran along side by side with it for several centuries. These later developments of it are probably identical with certain directions of the so-called "Mixed Mughal and Rajput Style." As

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[65]Cf. Plates 4, 6.

[66]Plate 4.

[67]Plate 6.

[68]Coomaraswamy, Arts and Crafts in India and Ceylon, 1911.

[69]Coomaraswamy, pls. 43, 44, 48.

[70]Mukandi Lal, Some Notes on Mola Ram. (*Rupam*, No. 8, Oct. 1921.) The hypotheses of the author upon the costumes in the Pahari miniatures are hardly tenable.

[71]Very typically, E. Blochet, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1897.

[72]E. Vredenburg, The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India, (*Rupam*, Nos. 1 & 2).

[73]L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, London 1921, p. 37, etc.

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is seen from Bernier,[74] and as we find from the origin of many a Manuscript,[75] the art of the Mogul court constituted only a small though the most important, branch of Indian painting, and beside it, there were painters scattered throughout the whole land working as artisans, and whose artistic productions must have stood on rather a low level. We must also count amongst them those artists, with whom later Rajput art originated. We have all the more grounds for so doing, as a comparison of the earlier paintings of this primitive Mogul style with the oldest Rajput miniatures and the paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries from Birbhum in West Bengal,[76] yields a certain similar basic type, which must be earlier than Mogul art, and which, in spite of all the very far-reaching variations, can probably be traced back to those miniatures from Bengali-Buddhist manuscripts of the Pala dynasty, which are the only connecting-links with ancient Indian painting which have been actually preserved—that is, as far as we know as yet. There is, of course, no lack of literary traditions. It is in this art that, most probably, we should seek the root of Rajput painting. We can hardly assume that the latter had any independent existence prior to the time of the Moguls. As a matter of fact, it does not look as if painting played a very great role in those days. The Moguls brought the fancy for miniatures from Central Asia with them, and we may assume that the Hindu Rajas, who must often enough have been present at the critical discussions about pictures, at the Court assemblies,[77] cultivated a taste for this art, and were thus induced to give orders to native artists in their own homes. Rajput painting would, therefore, represent a purely Indian development of the Indian primitive artisan painting, as seems to have been in vogue before the Mogul rule, and Mogul painting would likewise signify a further development of the same art with a strong European influence.

[74]Bernier, Travels, ed. Constable, 1891, p. 256.

[75]e.g. Prussian State Library, No. 830A of the MS. Catalogue from Gujarat: not from Behzad, but belonging to the Akbar school!

[76]"Dinesh Chandra Sen, Vanga Sahitya Parichaya," Calcutta 1914.

[77]Cf. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1618, ed. Foster, London, 1889, pp. 386-387.

V.—NOTES ON RAJPUT PAINTING.

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

THE contribution made by Dr. Hermann Goetz to the history of Rajput painting, in his *Studien zur Rajputen Malerei* in the "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," X, 1923, is doubly welcome: for it represents the first important addition to our knowledge since the publication of my *Rajput Painting* in 1916, and at the same time approaches the historical problem from a point of view neglected in my book, that of dating by means of costume. Dr. Goetz's discussion of the changes of fashion depending on the close relations existing between the Mogul and Rajput courts in the seventeenth century is extremely valuable.

I propose to refer here only to the great *Ragmala* series (S 2) (examples produced in C. R. P.[78] pls. I-III, C. P.[79] pls. LXIII-LXVII, in Dr. Geotz's article, fig. 4) another series (S 1) represented by single examples in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (the former reproduced in C. P. pl. LXII), and a third (S 3) series represented by two examples in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (reproduced in C. P. pls. LXVIII. and LXIX). These series I refer to respectively as S 2, S 1 and S 3, as I have used these designations elsewhere in publishing the texts.

In C. R. P. I argued mainly from the internal evidence of style and from comparison with *Ragmala* series of obviously later date (e.g., C. R. P. pls. XII and XIII, and British Museum, MSS. Or. Add. 26550 and Or. 2821, and many others in various collections), that S 2 should be placed about the middle of the sixteenth century. I am now prepared to regard S 2 and S 1 as of late sixteenth or very early seventeenth century date, i. e. about 1600, and S 3 as certainly not later than the middle of the seventeenth century. I should like to make it clear that my suggestion of Orchā as a locus for S 2 was nothing but a suggestion: actually the nearest analogues are to be found in the playing cards of Bikaneer (C. R. P. pl. LXXVII, a and b).

Dr. Hermann Goetz argues from details of costume, and the resemblance of facial angles to that of a portrait of Muhammad Shāh (fig. 6 in his article), that the series S 2 is not earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century. I am not able to subscribe to this view. On the contrary, the costumes appear to me to bear the closest resemblance to those of the earlier part of the reign of Jāhāngir, and to those represented in paintings of the Jammu school (C. R. P. pl. 29) which Dr. Goetz himself regards as of the Jāhāngir period. The rather small backward sloping turban is by no means rare in pictures of the Jāhāngir period, though it is true that in the latter part of the eighteenth century,

[78]C. R. P.—Coomaraswamy, A. K. Rajput Painting, Oxford 1916.

[79]C. P.—Coomaraswamy, A. K. Portfolio of Indian Art, Boston, 1923.

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A Chinese Bodhisattva
British Museum

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it comes into still more general use to the exclusion of other types. On the other hand, the wide short skirted frock coat of transparent muslin worn over coloured trousers by most of the male figures in S 2 is highly characteristic of the Jāhāngir fashion, at any rate and especially in the case of the Rajput princes at the Mogul court, e.g., Raja Mān Singh, in British Museum MS. Or. Add. 18801 (reproduced in Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mughal Portraiture* fig. 12, in *Orientalisches Archiv* Vol. 2) and in the portrait of Raja Sangrām, No. 14670 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. At a later period, more opaque or flowered or striped materials are used. Moreover, there appears in the *Ragmala* pictures, a peculiarity in the representation of the male figures which is highly characteristic of Mogul painting, of the late Akbar and Jāhāngir periods, and, so far as I know, never appears later. I allude to the representation of a shadow or strain upon the armpit: in the *Ragmala* pictures of S 2, this shadow is represented very summarily by a more or less circular area of grey dots or splashes, corresponding to the more careful armpit shading of actual Mogul portraits, such as the two last mentioned (Rājas Mān Singh and Sangrām), and of the *Rasikapriya* MS. which Dr. Goetz regards as the only Rajput painting definitely of the Mogul period (I regard it as Rajput in subject and almost entirely Mogul in style).

Now as regards the female costume. It seems to me to be very closely related to that of certain Jammu pictures (C. R. P. pl. 29, etc.) which Dr. Goetz, like myself, assigns to the time of Jāhāngir. The most marked peculiarity of the costume in S 2, S 1 and S 3 is apparent in the abundant use of heavy black tassels, fastened to the armlets, girdle and other parts of the costume. Now these black tassels are also found in the *Rasikapriya* pictures (of which the Museum of Fine Arts possesses a very large series) and I have seen them in other Mogul paintings unmistakably of the Akbar period. They are not found in the later *Ragmala* series. It seems to me, therefore, that the argument drawn from costume proves that the paintings in question date from about 1600, and cannot, in any case, be later than the Jāhāngir period.

Further: I regard this series as stylistically early—not indeed primitive in the ultimate sense, but certainly the last stage of an older art which only in the eighteenth century and typically in Kāngrā developed into something quite new and different.

In the *Ragmala* series, S 2 and S 1, the method of drawing is analytic: the form is built up of separate highly conventional elements, and acquires its meaning only by the grouping of these elements. These are, moreover, essentially paintings, architecturally established by their colour, for which the drawing, however brilliant, is merely a support. It is an art of the strongest possible convention. In later Rajput art, on the other hand, both Rājasthāni and Pahāri, e.g., C. R. P. pls. XII and XIII and LXII—the forms are built up by means of fully infected outlines, and even if colour is added, all essentials are established by the drawing itself; the colour is far more delicate than before; and there is a very evident naturalism (as some would express it, the artists have returned to Nature). In all these respects, we can recognize the combined influence of modern feeling (we have to learn the language of the *Ragmala* series, that of the late Kāngrā picture explains itself), and of the influence of Mogul painting, with its realistic interest, precise observations and delicate tonalities. It is inconceivable that this development—one might better say revolution—could have taken place between the beginning and the end of the 18th century.

I may mention here that in some of the texts inscribed on S 2 and S 1 the poet names himself as Lachiman. I have not been able to trace a poet of this name: the language suggests Bundelkhand. The texts of S 3 are identical with those of British Museum MS. Or. Add. 2821, and are closely related to those of S 2 and S 1, but by no means identical with these. In another series of later date (British Museum MS. Or. Add. 26550), the poet names himself as Abhirāma: these texts are quite distinct from those already mentioned.

VI.—A CHINESE BODHISATTVA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN an earlier number of this Journal (October 1921, No. 8) Mr. Binyon described for our readers a beautiful wooden statue of a Chinese Bodhisattva in the British Museum. We are able in this number to draw the attention of our readers to a recent acquisition from the same collection, which is of equal interest. It is the colossal head of a Bodhisattva cast in iron and bears traces of a coating of gesso and paint. It measures about 20 inches from the point of the chin to the top of the hair-knot and apparently was part of an entire figure of a colossal size. Mr. Joyce thus describes the head in a recent number of the "Burlington Magazine" (March 1923): "The face and head, from

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a horizontal line drawn at the chin level, have been cast in a mould of nine or ten pieces, the casting is hollow, though the walls are of considerable thickness ; there is a square aperture, some 3 by 4 inches at the back of the head and the long and pendulous ear-lobes (now broken off) hang free from the cheeks. The eyes are pierced and furnished with pupils of gesso, originally painted. No attempt appears to have been made to remove the roughness of the casting but the whole head has received a thick coating of gesso and paint." Both from the peculiarity of the medium and the quality of the execution, the figure has many unique features. Cast iron images appear to be rare in Chinese Buddhist, as in Indian, sculpture. Of the various materials from which images of gods could be fashioned the Indian *silpa sastras* make a variety of pious recommendations e.g. wood, earth, stone and iron (dâru-ista-silâ-loha). But the 'loha' probably represents *pancha loha* (lit., 'five metals') or bronze, though iron images are sometimes met with. In early Far Eastern sculpture—stone and bronze are the oft employed medium, with occasional use of wood —more frequent in the T'ang period in China and in the Shuko period in Japan. Though bronze is the earliest medium in China—iron is not known to have been used and is not generally associated in the earlier phases of Buddhist sculpture. The material of the head is therefore one indication of the date of the piece. The beauty of the figure and its peculiar conception so graciously harmonious and broadly dignified in expression are very likely to prejudice one's judgment in favour of an early date, but the iconographic evidence—offered by the peculiarity of the top knot—is too convincing to allow one to be influenced by the plastic quality of the expression. The top knot—very frequent in Gândhara sculpture, in the present example —is not a continuation of the mannerism of the Hellenistic school. It is an independent development inspired no doubt by the original iconographic prescriptions from which both Gândhara and China derived the formula for their Buddhist images. What Mr. Joyce describes as "many traces of lingering Greek influence" are the obvious gracefulness of the expression—rather inclining to a prettiness and the objective outlook which we generally associate with the typical Gândharan conceptions. The so-called indebtedness of the Chinese Buddhist sculpture to the decadent Hellenistic vulgarities of Khotan remains yet to be investigated. And Mr. Joyce's inclination to scent a Gândharan flavour in this figure is only symptomatic of his desire to ascribe an earlier date to the piece. There is an obvious demand of the figure for an early date—and obviously Mr. Joyce's attribution to the Ming period cannot be correct. It is lacking in strength and intensity which could have carried it to the T'ang epoch. On the other hand it is much too good for the Ming. The conflicting claims can perhaps be met by describing it as a late T'ang or an early Sung piece. Whatever its date, it is undoubtedly of fine quality and a notable addition to our knowledge of Chinese Buddhist sculpture —a subject which is daily enlarging its boundaries. Having regard to the fact that the best available specimens are now drifting to the American collections, the British Museum authorities can be well congratulated on its acquiring such a specimen of unique qualities. Our thanks are due to the Editors of "The Burlington Magazine" for the courtesy of the loan of the block for the reproduction of this piece on the opposite page.

VII.—THE INDIAN ART EXHIBITION IN BERLIN.

By DR. MAX OSBORN, Berlin.

THE manifestations of modern Indian painting as exhibited in the former palace of the German Crown Prince (a later addition to the National Gallery in Berlin), conveying as it does, to the German art lovers the first intelligence of a forceful and deep-striking movement in India, have created a very strong impression upon all who saw these art works. To us Germans, India has ever been a sacred precinct of a

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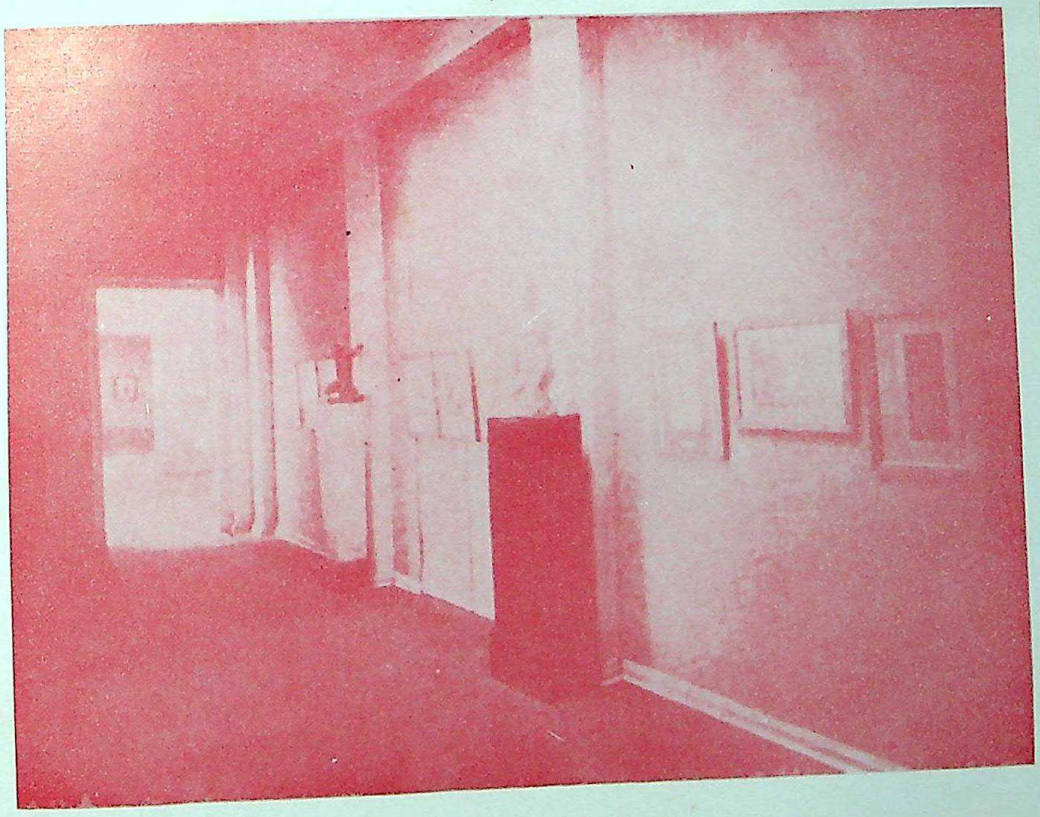
proud, powerful old culture, as a fairy-like land, the dream of our ardent longings. With deep reverence we bow to the wealth and sublimity of the religious and philosophic thoughts which have radiated from there to us, to the wonders of the early art creations of that Empire. We possess in Berlin a very selected collection of old Indian miniatures which, although kept in a rather concealed upper story of the Ethnographical Museum, is thoroughly familiar to the connoisseurs and is treasured by them among the most precious holdings of our State Museums. But, we have to confess that we have scant knowledge of the India of our times which, since the beginning of this century, has earned respect and consideration for her ethnical individuality and indigenous mental prowess ; and we were almost entirely ignorant of the fact that these efforts had already found artistic expression in the works of a whole generation of painters.

Thus it happened that the Indian Art Exhibition in Berlin struck us with the full force of a revelation. We witnessed the tense lining-up of a broad column of talents whose works and aims are rooted in, and carried by, the general uplift of a promising national life. We suddenly perceived, as through a translucent glass, the great awakening which spread through the whole East India during these last decades—we perceived the affecting spectacle of a cultural struggle for self-redemption which, with the force of a natural law, fights its way to success. And these perceptions, this insight gave us, at the same time, an idea of the immense force of the movement. For the mental development of a country is only capable of carrying away the artists to such a degree if it sinks its roots deeply into the domestic soil and is thus nurtured by the saps of the national life.



Indian Pictures in Crown-Prince Palace, Berlin.

By this very circumstance our interest was particularly aroused. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in his introductory remarks to the catalogue of the exhibition, justly points out that these testimonials of the

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actual cultural movement in India must remind the Germans of the fact that more than a century ago Germany, too, witnessed a national and romantic longing for an insight into, and a revival of, her own past. This emphatic accentuation of the national sentiment which played such a prominent part in Germany's romantic period and which, subsequently, in the times of Bismarck, was subdued by the creation of the Empire, because the passionate yearning for unity was thereby appeased—this national longing is to-day alive again, and it is by no means superfluous; for after our crushing defeat, Germany's unity, the maintenance of our popular community, is again most seriously threatened. We Germans understand to-day better than before the war the ardent aspirations animating the hearts of the Indian patriots; and we feel how also from those paintings an invisible fluid of kindred mind and thought moves toward us from afar.

It was but natural that the German who views these pictures should at first sight be captivated mainly by the subjects which the artists have chosen for their works. The strange fascination of these illustrations, of these religious figures and legends, of these persons drawn from History, these scenes taken from old Indian dramas and narratives, these segments from the present-day life of the Indian people—all this was full of effect. We steep into a world of both realistic and phantastic conceptions, a world which heretofore was never so near to our vision. We became acquainted with the Gods of the Indian mythology, we felt reverential awe for their sanctuaries, danced, in our minds, with the merry young folk who, so to speak, are disporting themselves in a carnivalistic fashion on Krishna's birthday.

We enjoyed the luscious colours and forms of the vegetation unknown to the German soil, and were delighted with the slender girls with their dreamy eyes, their meditatively drooping heads and their slim hands. We noticed how Mohamedan and Persian traits are mingling with the Indian character of the paintings. We hearkened with emotion to the sound of those sentiments which the Occident has first heard from the novels and lyric hymns of Rabindranath Tagore.

When our attention afterwards turned toward the formal methods of expression used by this young Indian art, we clearly perceived the threads which join it with the miniatures of an age vanished long ago. We felt how the new spirit is striving to cultivate the delicacy, daintiness and fervour which is innate in those small miraculous works of the ancestors; how also the old technique is being upheld, and even the old sizes of a pictorial art which rejects both the vast surfaces customary in Europe, and the heavy, tough requisite of oil colours. For us, the Indian peculiarity manifests itself more especially in the neat, masterful workmanship, in the tender devotion of the drawing, of the way the water colours are selected and adapted to each other. But few artists will be found in Europe who, with such unerring, manifest self-reliance know how to uniformly fill and to close coloured panels. This astounding gift of handling that artistic auxiliary appears to us to be the cause that all these little pictures, while animated by a rich and straight life, are at the same time possessed of an eminently decorative character. We see a glorious tradition continue beyond centuries and renew itself. A specifically Asiatic perception of art, more refined than the European article, and grown out of a narrower entity of popular sentiment than known to Europeans, stamps its imprint upon all of these water-colour drawings. Each line circumscribing in soft curves the outlines of a form, a garment, a flower, an implement, a building, becomes quite naturally, at once, also an ornament, an arabesque, playing around the surface structure of the mild colours.

To the European it is exceedingly instructive and enjoyable to pursue how the conscious endeavours of the Indian artists for a revival of their national art-forms have to struggle against many an outside influence. The art of the German romanticists a hundred years ago had to fight out similar struggles; it exhibited, too, the remarkable mixtures which are to be found in the present-day Indian paintings. You can easily trace the effects of the European seductions which, in the past century, threatened to render Indian painting unfaithful to

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its past. Have we not seen that Japanese art in its domestic traditions was torn by Western attractions? The young Japanese painters who settled in Paris about 1890 and, home again, founded a modern colony near Tokyo, deserted with flying colours over to the French impressionism. An old, organically matured world of culture was crowded away by a questionable world of civilization. With unheard-of efforts Japan is trying to-day to overcome the consequence of this false step which was then believed to be a forward step. India, however, has not ventured out so far on the dangerous road, and consequently she found it easier to find herself back.

At any rate, the influence of Europe, and naturally first of all of English art, was powerful enough to leave visible traces behind it. Even such a personage as Abanindranath Tagore whom we recognize to be not only the acknowledged leader of the "Indian Society of Oriental Art" but also undoubtedly the most outspoken artistic talent among our guests, and who masters the national style in a wonderful degree, is not free from such reflexes. His propensity for wrapping up the figures here and there in delicate, airy veils; the delicate manner in which he makes a reddish glimmering haze arise out of a nebulous, visionary grey, remind you of Whistler, or, reaching farther back, of Goya. The "Head of a peasant girl" by Abanindranath Tagore, in its mysterious animation, makes us almost think of the magic art of Edward Munch, the Norwegian. The English element is particularly discernible in a picture like "On the Jamuna" by Deviprosad Roy, where the conception both of the landscape and of the figures betrays even a distant influence of Reynolds or Gainsborough; or in pictures showing the somewhat sugar-coated, sentimental manner of the Pre-Raphaelites (as for instance in "The Bee comes", by Saradacharan Ukil); or in pictures where there is not lacking that smooth, hard and motley variety of colours of British periodicals. But also the more intimate, popular art of Europe is discernible in some Indian pictures. Roopkrishna's "Winter" reminds the German observer of the amiable naiveté of our Moritz von Schwind. In touch with art works of this kind are the popularly-shaped pictures of animals by Bratindranath Tagore. It is but natural that the manifold crossings thus arising could not yet produce everywhere uniform successes. Some works are more interesting on account of the volition, the honest effort and the easily recognizable longing, than of the artistic ripeness of execution.

Particularly interesting is the combination with wholly modern forms of expression characteristic of the latter-day European art. The first to arouse wide attention by this style was Gogonendranath Tagore who has gathered up cubistic suggestions. Queer enough, we believed we could recognize traces of the *German* usage of the cubistic doctrine—although the Indian artist is undoubtedly unaware of this particular nuance. But his black-and-white drawing of a "Temple" melts Asiatic style with the crystal-like forms as handled by Lyonel Feininger of Weimar. His charming colour fantasia, glittering in many colours, "In the Land of the Birds", shows traces of the glowing colourism of Franz Marc who, predestined for a leading rôle in German art, had to give up his young life on the battlefield. And if we contemplate the vigorously simplified, mask-like heads of Mrs. Sunayani Devi, we seem to behold the Indian counterpart of the pictures of the German Emil Nolde. The world-wide yearning for a grand expression is evident here—the yearning which to-day has taken hold of all artists of all countries and races; at the same time is evident the leaning towards old Asiatic models,—to be true, not so much to Indian but to Chinese ones; for it seems that the neighbouring Chinese and Japanese art has had a distinct effect upon Indian artists. A people who tries to bethink itself again of its own individuality must look around for assistance from the neighbourhood; and there can be no doubt that the flourishing art of East Asia, if independently and unconfinedly developed, may be fruitful for India.

But beyond all these suggestions and leanings the attention and admiration of the German art lovers was aroused by the Indian individuality of the pictures which have

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come to us. We felt how everything in these works is directed towards the aim of interpreting the peculiar mind and the essential characteristics of the Indian people and to bring them nearer and nearer to the conscientiousness of the people. And we recognized this truth :—the old manual faculties, the deep, dreamy sentiment, the distinction and refinement of principles—these elements which were the outstanding features of the grand old Indian Art have not died out. There exist again the forces of art and handicraft to cultivate those elements and to continue them in a new spirit. A new world of enchanted riches and quiet beauty has opened before our eyes. Even more than that : a monument of the great mind and of fanciful creations of a great people was unveiled before us, of a people who steeps with strong and crafty hands into the treasure-trove of its past in order to find itself again.

VIII.—THE INDIAN EXHIBITION :

CUTTINGS FROM THE GERMAN PRESS.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE Is for India, what Fichte has been for us. He has sent back his people to the eternal melody in man, to the power of joy, to the sacred region of creativeness. To his countrymen, who in the 19th century has lost every touch with art, he proclaimed the glorious message—" In art the creative person sends in us his answers to the highest person who in a world of endless beauty reveals himself to us through the dark world of reality." And not that alone; he inspired his people again with the idea of national unity, not as a politician, but as a philosopher. He brought to them self-reflection, national consciousness, and by the turning-point of the century it became clear even to the distant observer that new cultural forces were at work in India. At least in the province of culture they did not want to be oppressed and tyrannised over, schools for the revival of Indian culture were established, and with this new advance towards unity came also the art-consciousness, the long-buried creative power rose into life again.

In 1905 the Indian artists established the "Indian Society for Oriental Art," (its seat being Calcutta), and from that time dates modern Indian art, which is now open to convenient inspection in the Crown Prince Palace. It is not rich, not manifold, not pretentious ; there are no subjective convulsions, no individualistic brain-productions ; they are not particularly creative either ; but they are carefully done ; one often traces in them, as Tagore expresses it—" the never-ceasing loving touch of the creative hand ". They are imitations, but still direct. Owing their origin as they do to a feeling of repulsion, to an instinct of opposition to West-European culture, they can deny neither their indebtedness to West-European influence, nor their literary-intellectual origin. Also here our romanticism easily invites comparison. As romanticism fastens upon the Middle Ages, so, also do the Indians go back far into their highly developed art of miniature and fresco. Their predilection for water colour (only water-colours have been exhibited) is remarkable for their subtle mind, which always turns to what is favourable to the mood of the mind. The Indian loves the fine, tender tints and shades not less than sharp contrasts, he loves to draw on a dark, heavy background light and graceful danseuses and love-stories. There are many themes ; landscapes and seasons, plants and animals, are exactly as welcome to him as representations of common customs and rites, of family life and usage, of the world of women, of child life, of villagers and the labouring population, and so forth. Tales and legends of love (Radha and Krishna) play of course a significant rôle in his art ; he seeks for his heroes in the history of Buddhistic culture, Mohammedan history furnishes motives, and also contemporary Bengali literature is a source of the most diverse materials.

As to the form of such manifold contents the strong influence of the English Pre-Raphaelites asserts itself besides the natural dependence on the Indo-Persian miniatures, and Buddhistic frescos. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelites is unduly prominent, even though its mawkish tone is in most cases overcome by the Indians. Their tendency, to grasp everywhere the essence of things, connects them with Edward Munch, and the suggested sensuous beauty strikes one like still melody sounding forth out of their little pictures. They are not lucky when they coquet with Cezanne, or with cubistic expressionism at all. Further, their art can mature only under their own sun, out of their own soul alone can it be born, and it is better for them to stick to the methods of the mediaeval Rajput paharis of the Kangra, than to grope their way towards the over-cultivated West. Names are of little significance regarding the matter. Among the artists exhibited there are five different Tagores, of whom Abanindranath Tagore, a cousin of the poet, is the most important. A melancholy

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grace lends to his pictures a flushed charm. Apart from this peculiarity it is scarcely possible to discover any special individual characteristics. A communal feeling unites all these aritsts, their experience is derived from the same atmosphere and substance, though while one may cherish a predilection for Japan, another may be pining for Europe ; at bottom they derive their nature from the same root, because a common religious sentiment speaks in them all the same language. The subjects chosen are indeed not religious, but through the form the Infinite flashes, the will shines, to be the interpreter of that eternal melody, to listen to which is the vocation and goal of humanity. The artist, in order to make this melody resound, must listen within himself, make it swell so strongly that it will carry others with it and compel them to listen.

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Geheimrat Justi with the co-operation of the German Oriental Society has got up an exhibition of modern Indian water-colours in the upper floor of the Crown Prince Palace. In the two rooms lying behind the court and in the corridor in front about 100 pictures, works in water-colours and water-body-colours (Gouache) have been exhibited, which should give an idea of art-activity in modern India. The general impression produced by these paintings, which are almost all small or medium sized, is determined by the reserve and tasteful softening down of colours, which operate a little artificially, and further through the experiments in the blending of oriental tradition with modern European influences. The mutual influence of these two elements is seen most clearly in relation to space. The traditional Indian tendency insists more or less on the surface, a decorative coloured division of the plain for the picture without consideration of illusory effects which the dimension of depth produces. The European (until the time of expressionism) aims at an arrangement of the space, accentuates directly the production of illusory effects, a thing which oriental art, Indian as well as Chinese and Japanese, avoids. Now, as the European element enters more and more into the work of the modern Indians, there begins to be effected a compromise between these two tendencies, at times with remarkable results. A woman, represented in the European way, in modern dress and with her hair done in the modern style, is seated in an evening landscape. The details of her figure are naturally exact ; but she sits spaceless in a spaceless world. Another paints a village-maiden, with his feeling for the actual ; but he gives her a face in profile which looked at in front has almost an Egyptian eye and he works like everybody else without the employment of shade. The colours are delicately distributed on the expression, but the faces are not at all expressive. The soul finds expression at best in gestures : the features remain in the typical scheme : tradition is here stronger than everything else. It is particularly so in the works done consciously in the European style. The execution of a print like the 'Temple' of Gogonendranath Tagore is externally quite modern in perspective, ahd yet spaceless. The inherited tendency, the blood is stronger than all, endeavours to effect an adjustment with European elements. These experiments are naturally directed most frequently towards English painting. We see the influences of the Pre-Raphaelites; at the same time we think we see at times kinsmen of Toorop and of the pale Flemish art. Here and there are also visible the influences of the classicist school of drawing—perhaps in the works of Abanindranath Tagore ; at times anglicised Zenerbachtones (The 'Love-letter' of Durga Sankar Bhattacharjea). The excellent ducks of Bratindranath Tagore remind one of Chinese animal paintings ; and in the 'Bird-land' of Gogonendranath Tagore one sees even a first attempt to Indianise the colour and form-tendencies of expressionism. The Tagore family is already well-known and we know that besides the writer Rabindranath it has produced quite a number of talented painters. The most modern of them is Gogonendranath Tagore, who generally seems to be the most vigorous in our sense of the word; side by side stands Abanindranath, tender, lyrical, and the naturalistically stronger Bratindranath Tagore with his animal-pictures. Further we notice Sudhansu Chowdhury with a village-maiden, then Ardhendra P. Banerji with his 'Banana forest' conceived objectively as in Europe, Nandalal Bose with his very effective 'Rain', Sailendra Nath De with a fine nightpiece 'Yakshini'. They are just striving after a wider survey from the point of view of the whole, for manifestly the sentiment personality and therewith also the vital world-experience of the present day Indian is somehow fundamentally different and possible only in a roundabout way to achieve appreciation. A progressive æsthetic scale can be easily found ; but only with difficulty a standard for the appreciation of the living force. All the same it is worth our while to have seen these things, while we at the same time believe that the Indians at least in the matter of painting have more to learn from us than we from them. Notwithstanding all honour to Buddha and the Vedas. ["Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung"].

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In the Crown Prince Palace, where Ludgwig Justi, director of the National Gallery, has already for years in alternate exhibitions put before the lover of art plenty of German and foreign paintings, there are at present being shown numerous water colours by young Indian artists, which were collected by the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta. Now that Rabindranath Tagore has been extolled as a man of genius and exhibited all round as a jewel in this land of all too willing enthusiasts, the water colour painters may further

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deepen our knowledge of the Indian magic world. (We hope that, in return, German art will soon be introduced in Calcutta). Since the European without some explanation does not rightly grasp the themes represented, the preface to the catalogue deals in details with the motives, which have guided the artists. Ordinary and everyday themes alternate with the legendary and mythological; literature and ethnology have moved their phantasy. The lover of art is here surrounded by the magic of a world of alien forms whose main charms, similar to those in the case of the poet Tagore—are lyricism and sweetness. The first impression is that of an excessive softness and refinement, one might speak of Decadence, if the word did not carry with it such a bad flavour. At all events the idealistic mode of thinking which achieves here almost technical refinements and beauties, reaches throughout into the region of the wearied and melancholy. This is seen not only in the figure-portraits, but also in the animal water-colours, where a heavily-pressing fellow-feeling invariably produces strong, if at the same time not new kindly effects. About these painters we believe that they have diligently studied the curious art-products of China and Japan, that they have above all things studied and assimilated the thoughtful and artistic past of their own country. We are led into a region where every kind of struggle is banished and the gentle-looking beauty is a goddess of peace and contemplation. These water-colours are the creation of men, but neither manly strength nor harshness is traceable in them :—they are touched and refined by quite a sweet feminine warmth which appeals to the heart like the music of the æolian harp. This feeling is everywhere so dominating that the powers of the understanding scarcely assert themselves in opposition as the regulating force. Before these portraits one thinks :—what tender men must those be who produce such light, pure and charming pictures! Regular dreamy natures full of presentiments and yearnings! They love life in the midst of the suffering of homesickness, as the sick boy Amal in Tagore's 'Post Office' loves it: absorbed in gloomy meditations doubting, always pursuing the why and the whither—[A. G. Hartmann.]

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Alfred Wien (In The "Deutsch Zeitung," Berlin.)

"As a higher vision, having a dim inkling of the invisible." This line, taken from a poem of Bjornson's, specifying an uncommon characteristic, involuntarily occurs to the mind, when we have to form a clear idea of the essentially visible aspect of this unique exhibition before us. It is an art of the ineffable, of the Infinite, of the far-off and boundless, which is here disclosed in two such fundamentally diverse representations of the conception; once in tender-hued, easily tinted, finely, outlined water-colours by representatives of a peculiar culture, alien to Europe and carrying in every individual work the traces of the hoary eternal; another time in the creations of one of the latest and most extreme promulgators of the European art of expression. The two endlessly different, but agreeing in this that they do not offer what is objectively interesting in itself, what can be accurately grasped, but something, which lies behind every actual perception, something real, which, passing over all accidental appearance, seeks to penetrate into a truth, hidden in the ordinary sense. To understand them fully one must surrender prejudices. We must not approach these Indians nor even Paul Klee with our usual preconceptions. In the one case as in the other the peculiarly deepest aim of the picture will remain hidden to one who cannot, through the visible form, penetrate into the soul of the work of art, into the will, the spiritual culture of its creator. We must endeavour to appreciate the inner essence,—in the case of the Indians, a culture, so remote from us, in any case, totally different, where it comes out in its pristine purity; in the case of Paul Klee, precisely that faculty of vision that seeks to obtain some strange revelation out of things, in order to discover the inner nature of the essential, a content of the abiding out of the perishable husk, and to unfold—what may be to us of deeper significance than the understanding of a passing appearance—the vision of a future, that, as yet unappreciated and difficult to grasp, may one day altogether change our angle of vision as regards our relation to reality.

It is an art of expression to which the outward appearance is nothing, the inner being, on the other hand, is everything, and it is interesting to consider how this being on the different paths of thinking and feeling may lead to a solution quite convincing to us. One who looks at the Indians superficially, gets the impression at the outset that this expression is beauty, tender, uniformly contemplative picturesque mediation of an experience of emotion or phantasy. But this is only the exterior; it does not express their essential quality. Let one live once not only with a clear vision, but also with an earnest mind, into that which these small pictures have to tell us, and he may perceive the melody out of the external gesture of words as expressed in colour and out of this melody again the oscillating conception of space and reality of a cultured people who have attained great development. This culture need not be ours; it would be wrong if we wanted to measure it with our standards, and determine its worth accordingly.

If we try to specify exactly, it will be fitly styled a certain kind of Romanticism. Yet this Romanticism is nothing less than what we Germans are accustomed to regard and feel in ourselves as such. In the imaginative style of the Indians there is a ring of that oriental magic world of a tale out of the Thousand and one Nights. Our Romanticism in its yearning craves satisfaction of demand, the other, knows no such desire. While we strive to

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pass from the unrealizable into realization, the art of the Indians likes precisely this non-fulfilment. We seek for reality in dream itself ; to the Indian this reality is nothing more than the unreal image of a much truer, dream of life, of a much truer fact absorbed in itself. Their art is so far decidedly religious, as in their most perfect or best creations one always seems to trace something of that Nirvana, which is the content and goal of their faith.

This finds expression chiefly in the infinity of spatial depths that most persistently obtrude themselves on our attention. Before dim and brown, grey or blue backgrounds are set, really in an accidental order, the subjects or the people or other figures which in contrast to this very vague unreality of the surrounding, appear to be invested with strange life. This happens usually through the presence of some powerful and insistent things, though by no means glaring or gay-coloured, but solely through intensive colours creating the impression of distance. The outline works lineally, the surface predominates and it is astonishing how in this way this plane surface becomes, all the same, throughout corporeal. They are altogether select in the composition of grouping. Nothing glaring, everything softened down, with the greatest tact and the finest feeling for style. The expression in the first place of reflectiveness, or of some kind of contemplativeness or of waiting at the most heightened to expectation, but nothing more. The abolition of the temporal through space-elements, as regards vision, wisely symbolical. And into every incident infinity somehow projects itself and stands forth out of the furthest given distance through its facile shading, clearing up or darkening. It is the standard which lends to the forms pressed respectively into this infinity their peculiar hall-mark. They are not concerned with the present, with an inactive reality, but they are in a past that lies back in a hoary antiquity, or in a future that first of all has touched and prepared their vague presentiment. Not all deal with such hoary antiquity. A few are clearly penetrated by European culture-influences ; they introduce directly an admixture not too inadmissible. Here and there are noticeable traces of expressionism and even of cubism ; one can see even the mawkish picture postcard style of an English type, though in a moderated form, spoiling the possibilities of their peculiar culture. Fortunately the best of them are free from such enfeebling influence. They do not abandon the mode of representation and world-conception peculiar to them, in which life entered into a particular connection with something that stands over life. One of the little pictures, a village maiden, is decidedly reminiscent of Edward Munch ; but the conception of personality of the Indian masters as against the European is so clear and independent that in this case no knowledge or even contact can be traced. What comes out in this case is an uncommonly striking feature of the universality of cultures, a feature that exhibits kinship through all sorts of contrasts.

The reproach of a free phantasy, or of legends, of historical tradition, has been well removed. What they narrate means little. Mere nothing based on fact, the significance just only, the symbol, but this is in inner harmony with the purely picturesque. One indeed in prudent calculation, in subtle consideration of the one against the other colours, in the harmony of the individual outlines, or also of whole groups, but more in the style, grounded in feeling, of great exquisiteness, the manifestation of a movement of the spirit turned away from the earthly and straying into the supernatural and the visionary.

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Dr. PAUL FECHTER—IN THE "COMMERCIAL NEWS."

GEHEIMRAT Justi, the director of the National gallery, has arranged in the Kronprinzenpalais, the modern section of the National gallery, the first Indian Exhibition we have seem at Berlin. In co-operation with the Deutsche Morgenländishe Gesellschaft and the Indo-Europa Trading Co. of Berlin, the "Indian Society of Oriental Art" of Calcutta has sent about one hundred water-colours. The catalogue with an instructive preface by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar names fifty painters who here represent modern Indian art.

The first thing the German visitor observes is this: there are two tendencies in all these paintings, one the leaning to old national Indian art, the other to modern European style of seeing and painting. Professor Sarkar writes in his preface, that these modern Indian painters have tried to make use of the technique and methods of the Indo-Persian miniatures, of the mediæval Rajput-Pahari and the Buddhist fresco-paintings of Ajanta.

On the other hand the influence of European art, says he, is not absent in many of these water-colours. At first the influence of the English Pre-Raphaelites and classicists; at the same time the example of the impressionists—and beyond that, of Cézanne and his successors. The decorative style of these paintings is a mixture which blends oriental tradition with European actuality; but tradition is stronger than foreign influences.

All these water-colours are small-sized and discreet in colours, more like old Indian pictures than like modern art. It seems the artists wish to paint like the ancients painted and their modern feeling lies under this surface—as well as the European influence.

There is a secret antagonism between tradition and modern tendencies. It is apparent in the manner in which space is represented in all these paintings. The inherited Indian feeling wishes to remain in the plain of paper : things have only two dimensions, height and breadth—without regard to

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the illusion of depth. The European tendency (since the Renaissance and till the modern art of expressionism) accentuates, on the contrary, the directions of space.

European art is the art of illusion, of depth. The third dimension is one of its most important themes and this third dimension, depth of painting, is avoided in the Indian art as in Chinese and Japanese art. The more the influence of European painters begins, the more begins the conflict between these two tendencies—with very interesting results.

There is for example a water-colour by Nandalal Bose entitled "Rain." In another a young lady clothed and hair-dressed in European fashion is sitting in an evening landscape. The details of the figure are almost naturalistic, exactly painted : but she herself sits without third dimension without space in a world without space. Another artist paints a country-girl with fine feeling for reality : but there are nowhere shadows and the eye in the profile is like an eye from an old Egyptian drawing painted in full face.

The colours indicate expression with much delicacy but not the faces of the persons. Psychical emotions are only given by gestures and motions of body and arms, not by the faces. Tradition is stronger than modern intentions of psychical expressions.

Even in the pictures with direct modern tendency the same conflict is noticeable. There is a water-colour by Gogonendranath Tagore, one of the finest artists among the Indian painters. It is a view of a temple, in perspective manner, but without any impression of depth, of the third dimension. Blood is thicker than water, and all European education in observation is powerless against the inborn feeling.

In the catalogue of the exhibition one finds among fifty artists the name Tagore four times. There is Bratindranath Tagore; he paints animals, ducks and a deer in a fresh and vivid manner. These look like Chinese wood-cuts, very exactly observed and with naturalist details. There is Abanindranath Tagore; his manner is weaker and more sentimental, with some classicist influences. There is Gogonendranath Tagore, perhaps the most modern of all these painters: he sent the only "expressionist" water-colours of the exhibition entitled "Bird-land." Besides these artists one will note Sudhangsu Chowdhuri ("Country-girl,") S. N. Banerji ("The Gardener's Daughter,") Ardhendra P. Banerji ("Banana Groves,") Sailendranath Dey ("Yakshini") and others.

For European visitors it is at first difficult to feel the original expressive energy such as lies behind the decorative style of these Indian water-colours. We see the different themes of these pictures, the scenes from the ancient dramas and novels, from old Indian legends and modern poetical works; we see the aesthetic differences between forms and colours of all these artists. But it is very difficult to feel the essence of internal nature of the personalities. In spite of it the exhibition is very interesting to the German public : the more we see of foreign art the more we understand our own art and feeling.

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Dr. GOETZ IN THE "KUNST-CHRONIC."

Modern art—these works are the product of a world-conception which throughout India and Islam spreads eastwards and westwards and draws into itself the art of eastern Asia and what in European art is akin to it. It is modern art,—because it is a young art which seeks for new ways of approach to the old. It is not from tradition, but going back to it. The alien European taste, in its worst, colonial, provincial deterioration, cross naturalism and formalism, without depth and completeness, had disturbed the old Indian painting, alien to an artistic mind that strives, not after the things, but after its deeper nature. The world is unreal, it is Mâyâ, the mantle of veil of the one Lord behind appearances, the dream picture of the world-mother, worthless is the knowledge of the thing, real is the experience of its deeper being. This art aims not at description, explanation or teaching, but at furnishing a deeper insight. But the old symbols are gone, the old naive faith has been destroyed. It is not possible to build up the art anew with western means. So, one lays hold of the old, fondly studies the works of the ancestors, the frescoes of Ajanta, of Bagh and Sigiriya the miniatures of the great Moguls and of the Rajputs. They are worked up differently, the paintings of the imperial court of Delhi the least, Europe has displaced their naturalism. The pictures out of Rajasthan and the Himalayas more, but their frequently petty character also imposed limits. The young seekers always lay hold of the days of Pulikesin II and of the beautiful courtesan—Basantasena. And beside them step out the bronzes and plastics from Nepal and Tibet. And here they find what they strive after, the grandeur and depth of their old masters. Here they concentrate their own work, train their eyes and form their taste. They aim indeed at going further, but many remain hanging on to the old form. Bishnupada Roy Chowdhury's "Haraparvarti" represents the old formula; similarly Olindra Coomar Gangoly's "Radha Krishna" follows the old shaping and ideal of beauty, though penetrated, by peculiar vigour and richness. So also Khitindra Nath Mazumdar lives in this tradition ; but he grows and goes beyond it, without nevertheless, succeeding in reaching free expression in the drawing of his heads. Sailendra Nath Dey's illustrations to Kalidasa's Meghaduta make use of the east Asiatic motives. And in Nandalal Bose the landscape painting of the Sung is combined with

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home technique. Chinese landscape could furnish what was missing at home. The old Indian landscape painting remained undeveloped and never grew beyond its primitive form. But the nature of the Sung master gave everything, the mood of the eternal, the infinite, the significant silence, which expresses the pent-up spirit more than even the most carefully finished picture. Bose's "Haraparvarti," "Shiva" and the "eternal mother," have achieved excellence. The unapproachable and yet all-gracious God and the Goddess, ideal of the devoted and tender wife, and the creatress of this visible world, Shiva and Parvati were indeed ever his favourite forms, and his Uma, Uma's sorrow, his Lord of silence are worthy works of the mighty epic of the old Purana. He commands also the old speech, akin to the nature of the stuff, but supremely under command as a means of expressing his experience. And behind is a red brown background, and thereupon a tree represented in east Asiatic fashion, which sets off both the figures. An old motive, purely Indian; for even this foreign handling of the background has its forerunners in Bengal painting of the 17th and 18th centuries. But how far is the old style left behind! And at the same time such a weak, mawkish work as the Holi festival, by the same artist! contrasts, inequalities of a newer art, always in danger of becoming eclectic offspring of its older types. This comes into view most of all in the case of the founder, Abanindra Nath Tagore. Evolving ever evolving! He tries his skill in all possible ways and all the same he does not advance. The Sufi, a rendering of the Japanese poetry-pictures, and the Java danseuse malayish in form and colouring, Dulac in the "Dream of the Slave" and Rossetti in the "Village-maiden" will confirm by affirmation. And yet this is only the external experimentation of an artist, all else as naive. The character study of both the "Mogul" pictures impresses us like the portraits of the time of Shah Jahan; grasped like the portraits of the time of Shah Jahan; but the devilish beauty of Nur Jahan, the all powerful clever empress with the scrutinising eyes and the closely set mouth—and the weak, excessively learned poetess Zeb-un-nissa with her languid eyes and fine locks of hairs—Beardsley! Here Europe only chimes in, but in other cases she becomes dominant. Bireswar Sen had to submit to an Indian critic who asserted that he had imitated Dulac and other illustrators of the fairy world of Harun-al-Rasid. A work like his "Writer" is absolutely un-Indian. Gagonendra Nath Tagore is busy in the field of cubism. Sunayani Devi in European expressionism. Side by side with them are many in whom all these elements are unconsciously blended into a unity. Durga Sankar Bhattacharji's "Love-letter" is a fine, tender work, forcible in design, fine in expression and excellent in his refined, discordant hues—perhaps too full of repose. Rupa Krishna's paintings with their charming, almost audacious colouring have a peculiar note of their own. This is the case still more with Asit Kumar Haldar ("Cloudy day" and "In the boat") whose hues in the green forest coming out, in their often ghostly transparence almost degenerate into the commonplace. Interesting also are the attempts of Promode K. Chatterji to remodel the old religious symbolism, in Chandrasekhara (Shiva) and better in the splendidly decorative "Lakshmi" (Jewel in the Lotus). But the most successful are the domestic and village scenes. The mood of Tagore's and Bankim Babu's poetry is also dominant here.

Bose's three maidens (The Rain) with their slender forms, timid and yet charming faces recall pictures out of Bishabriksha; or Olindra Coomar Gangoly's "Hours of Idleness"—the tired young woman absorbed in thought at the window—only gold and just a bit of colouring—one recalls Pellar. The songstress of Surendra Nath Kar is the most beautiful; old Mogul composition, but over it the bluish veil of moonlight, in which the maiden sits with the vina before her. And yet, large languid eyes, which typical of the women of Hindustan, dream sadly—all mood and yet harsh and unpleasant. The means change—Chinese, European, old Indian—technics are utilized separately by themselves or more or less in combination. Gradually one's own style is formed, further evolution of the old Indian painting, working up of the kindred elements in East and West. Everything is in a state of becoming, everything as yet too young. Not perfection—but hope! But already are—growing out of this Romanticism—and this is a great danger, tendencies to become mawkish and feeble works which enrich that which the founder of this reform-movement aimed at: a modern art, genuinely Indian in the expression of Indian sentiment! Yoga, Bhakti and Vidyâ self-restraint, reserve in expression and movement, love to God and its practice in daily life, knowledge of the deeper meaning of the world and of life.

IX.—ALFRED SALMONY ON CHINESE SCULPTURE.*

PLASTIC art in China cannot be traced further back than the Han period. The form of it which has been most preserved the relief, is in the service of narrative. The tendencies towards history and fable which we find in the material still lack the binding of religion and cult. The fact that this art nevertheless has a value beyond what is purely didactic and entertaining, is proved by its connection with the cult of the dead. There subsists a reciprocal action between the soul

* Alfred Salmony : "Chinese Stone Plastic Art" Vol. I Museum Fur Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne, 1922

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of the deceased which is released from the body, and the pictures which are closely akin to it, inasmuch as nothing can enter this all-important realm of Chinese existence without becoming endowed with a magical significance. The subject-matter of the two groups of objects which cross one another in the relief, is small. The historical group is closely connected with the literary research so enthusiastically promoted by the Han emperors, the fairy-tale group with the awakenings of faith in a fantastic animation of the world. Moralising texts of the relief are only supported in their effect by pictures from daily life. Finally the letter-like repetition of the objects raises the sepulchral relief from the stratum of profane narration, though without conferring on it a central position in the life of the cult.

It is only with Buddhism that we find any distinctive alteration in this classification of plastic art in Chinese life. Instead of an idea illustrated by many examples we now find a symbol of religious truth. The victory over earthly bonds only intensifies one idea, the Enlightened One. The original style of Buddhism in China can almost be read off in the presentation of this notion, according to its chief contents. The single figure now takes the place of the multiplicity which only acquires significance when we are reminded of an action. It is not sufficient to throw the responsibility for this change on the special conditions of the "bas style," for votive pillars and cave sculptures, too, adhere to the relief. Rather let us say that it was Buddhism which first placed the plain unity instead of the multiplicity which could only assert itself by heaping. What use could the pre-Buddhist Han art have made of a story of conjugal fidelity, of filial affection, or of an aerial being, a legendary ruler of prehistoric times ? The only reason why Buddhism is not content with representing the highest symbol is that, on propagandist grounds, it has to make the whole structure of its order of salvation clear and plain. It therefore begins at an early period to surround Buddha with the co-ordinate beings, but it explains the accompanying function of the latter if only in their relative sizes. The mass of details is subordinated to the religious centre. By means of its system of construction, the plastic monument is enabled to represent the cosmological spindle of all Buddhist worlds, the Sumeru mountain, and to repeat its gradation. As the accompanying figures in their turn become bearers of symbols, all movements can be dispensed with, and so, even in the subject, we get that appearance of rest without action, which is Buddhist and at the same time Chinese.

It was only the T'ang period which altered the forceful arrangement of symbols. The streaming in of magical (Tantrist) tendencies from about the beginning of the sixth century already prepared an alteration by the personification of "Metaphysical categories, ethic qualities and personal titles." At the beginning of the T'ang period the creation of embodiments of strength of the doctrine collapsed, so that it is the Bodhisattva who is the central point of the sculptures of this epoch. The external elevation of the principal figures over the secondary details, is now toned down. A new significance, too, is now added to the action which we can read off : during the transition this mostly merely consisted of the worship of relics, which was always a part of Buddhism. We should not dismiss the assumption that the reappearance of the pure relief style in the T'ang period originates in an intimate relationship with the creative work of the Han period. However, the many gaps in the monuments warn us to be careful in drawing such sweeping conclusions.

The frequent appearance of the Bringers of Salvation is certainly closely connected with their differentiations: moreover, the special forms, such as Kuan yin and Wen shu are really only developed on Chinese soil, though they existed as far back as the fourth century. The elucidation is, of course, extended to the entire population of the Buddhist world. Compared with India and Gândhara, a change has been made in the iconographic selection.

In the further course of its development, plastic art could not extend the scope of its subject-matter to any appreciable degree. However, for the Sung period and for the pronouncedly Buddhist Yuan period, a characteristic group may be mentioned, the monks. Instead of a symbol, these monks indicate the man who is called to propagate the notion of salvation. It is true that the monks remain subordinate to the Bringers of Salvation in the structure of the Buddhist church, for do they not owe their dignity to the strength of their knowledge, not to the sanctity of their lives ? A cult picture could only arise from the visible comprehension of the soul-powers working in the monastic ideal. Soon afterwards, however, heaping and ranging take the place of concentration. There is an unmistakeable waning of religious intensity in the monuments after the T'ang period. Under the Mings plastic art gives us the impression of an exhibition, which can well dispense with the constraint of a religious church.

As far as our knowledge of the Han plastic art goes, it is in the relief that the human figure first appears in a determinative and active role. The sunk relief comes first. According to the dating formulated by Chavannes, its most important monuments belong to the period around 130 A.D. The attempt to make any definite localisation must certainly be rejected as premature, especially as the principal sites of the plastic relief should be placed a few decades later. Between these two outside limits of possibility there are transitions and mixtures. The sunk relief generally has a greater wealth of figures than the plastic. The form language, however, remains the same until the incursion of Buddihism. With the linear distribution of the formula-like outline drawing, we have discovered

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the oldest purely Chinese medium of art. It is Buddhism which first brings into this structure the corporeal, round figure (which had hitherto played an insignificant part). The entire sculpture of the transition period is in the main an altercation between disc and pillar. Then a linear expedient, the diagonal cut, is again used to impart the fundamental note of restfulness to the new sculptural construction too. As regards form, the Buddhist doctrine did not, therefore, undertake any important alteration in the artistic principles of the East.

It is not until the period of T'ang art that there is a real revolution. It is then that, for the first time in the development of the East, recognition of corporeal and spacial reality is shown. The natural appearance of the body is grasped at that moment when an individualised personal notion of the Bringers of Salvation and Enlightened ones takes the place throughout of the general notion. Their approachableness, their sympathy with human suffering are symbolised in the most beautiful manner by the kindly smiling expression of the countenance. It seems feasible that a figure so near to earthly comprehensibility could no longer stand before a blank wall. Therefore a landscape is often made out of the slab or the rock by tree and plant designs. Vegetative surroundings acquire enhanced value at the T'ang period, for they endowed the geomantic system of Feng shui, which had originally been developed only for the selection of tombs, with abundant relations to the life of the community. But even a sculpture which possesses proportion in its figures, a relief which recognises perception in space, does not in the East throw off the limitations of convention. Even those artistic means which approximate to nature bind all the details of the composition into a harmony, to which the menacing world-guardians themselves, at the uttermost boundaries of the region of the gods, are compelled to submit. The Sung-Yuan epoch makes no distinctive change in this arrangement of the elements of reality. Only the means of form grow grander, more artistic, more external, more cunning in their knowledge of the possibilities of plastic modellings and for this reason their effect is less chaste and less powerful. Neither the linear-rhythmic analysis nor the symmetrical arrangement of the separate parts has ever been given up in China. The original stock of formal means of expression was not lost and remained until the Ming period. It is by the recognition of these original and immutably Chinese possibilities of modelling that we can trace the common denominator of Chinese monumental sculpture.

Han art signifies in the web of Eastern life an heroic age by the heaping of great deeds of the Chinese temperament, and of beings endowed with supernatural powers. Buddhist sculpture dissolves this earthly world and constructs a new order of things, in which the elements of reality play the smallest part. We cannot describe Chinese Buddhism exhaustively by the expression "negation of life," for in art as elsewhere it has always an eye for the practical problems of the doctrine. It is not the completed religious creed of man which is before the spiritual eye of the sculptor, but the unlimited abundance of creatures who believe in Buddha and are in need of salvation. The religious idea, however, leads him far beyond the realm of material comprehension. What then is the significance of the natural appearance ? The Sutra of the 42 sentences, expressly says : "The body too is without truth and without reality, and is nothing but a blossom of immeasurable time which shoots forth for a brief space of time."

This artistic principle accompanies Buddhist sculpture as well as the sculpture which is detached from religious doctrines. In the entire course of development, the Chinese nucleus has not been diminished or given up. This fact has its root in the even and close unity of the Eastern Asiatic community of life. The path from narration to emotion, from experience to representation, merely designates different stages in the history of humanity. However unchanging the East may always have remained, this perception, which is of the greatest human significance, is in a position to resolve the monumental rows of stone witnesses into a great life-process, to allow us to flow along in the stream of the evolution of art, and, while delighting in the accomplished work, to construct our knowledge of its growth.

The fact that Chinese plastic art rises almost exclusively not on the height of conscious creative art, but in the broad stream of handicraft production, implies no limitation of value. It testifies not to the skill of the hands, but to the symbolising power of the Chinese mind.

X.—THE LOTUS OF LIFE.

By AKSHAYA KUMAR MAITRA.

As the beginning and the end are unmanifested, they are equally hidden away from the vision of Man. The middle alone is manifested to him in a tangible form, called the Universe. This observation of the Gîtâ is an old one in India. It naturally tended to induce the people to look upon the manifested universe as an existence without a beginning, and without any creator,—entirely self-evolved from the beginning

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of Time. But birth and death,—appearance and disappearance,—visible in the animal and vegetable kingdom,—offered a contrast; suggesting a recurrence, in an endless series, which naturally called for a solution of the mystery, in a philosophy of Creation.

Two theories, one of self-evolution, and another of Creation,—came in this way to be assimilated together, with a preponderating reliance upon the latter, because it had its support in the revealed authority of the Vedas. Mythology gave rise to stories of Creation, attributing it to the male or female energy of a Supreme Being, establishing a Father-cult and a Mother-cult of worship, inculcated by the Puranas and the Tantras, with two classes of plastic representations, both retaining some traces of the theory of self-evolution by an appropriate association with a characteristic symbol, in the form of the Indian lotus, Padma (Nelumbium Speciosum).

As an aquatic plant, it has its origin in a bulb, hidden low at the bottom, with its flower as the visible portion on the surface of water, as if it is evolved out of nothing. It was, therefore, early adopted as an appropriate symbol of "Svayambhu," the self-evolved. It came thus to be associated with all types of plastic representation, calculated to suggest the self-evolved character of life in Creation.

To indicate the mysterious birth of the Sakya-Buddha, this old symbol, the lotus, alone was first adopted to signify the event, without any visible representation of the mother or the child; as may be noticed in the birth-scene, depicted on the stone-gate at Sanchi. The lotus came in this way to be early associated with Indian art, not only with life but also with sanctity. Its universal use as a decorative element was intimately connected with an idea of uncaused evolution, manifesting animation and growth, called life, in the language of Man. Its first adoption in Indian art must have been very old indeed, as its origin is lost in oblivion; the oldest specimen in sculpture reveals an already well-established form, as the result of ages of artistic development.

When the Gândhara school introduced the human figures of the mother and the child, to represent the story of birth, it sought to establish a model of realistic representation, in which the mystery of uncaused evolution was not, however, entirely ignored. It was sought to be dimly represented by a suggestion of mysterious birth, not in the normal way of mortals, but by the emergence of the child through the right side of the abdomen of the Mother (figure 1). The inartistic grossness of this model, inconsistent with Indian notions of decency, was sought to be softened down in the sculpture of Bengal, by representing the child as soaring through the air near the right side of the abdomen of the Mother, without any actual touch with the same (figure 2).

The symbolic representation of the stone-gate at Sanchi, the Gândhara relief, and the Bengal specimen, discovered in Varendra, now deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, may be compared together to notice the association of the idea of self-evolution with that of actual causation, indicated first by the lotus, and subsequently by the emergence of the child in some manner of supernatural process.

This had its basis in a common philosophy, which equally influenced the Brahmanic and Buddhistic conception of Creation. Absolute realism alone could hardly represent this complex idea, which never got rid of an association with the idea of mysteriousness inherent in life.

The Brahmanic conception of Creation was cloathed with a poetry of its own. It adopted a theory of cycles of manifestation, separated by intervals of absolute voidness. In this supposed interval, during which nothing endured except an impenetrable darkness, the Supreme being was conceived to be lying inert on a bed of serpent (another old symbol of life), on the surface of all-pervading water, canopied by the hoods of a hydra-headed snake, named Ananta, a synonym of Eternity. Creation was, however, apparently ascribed to Brahmâ, mysteriously emerged out of a full-blown lotus; but a real Creator was also indirectly suggested by a happy association with the Supreme being Visnu, from whose navel the lotus was represented to have come out.

Evolution and Creation,—the uncaused and the caused origin,—were thus assimilated into one legend, which supplied a model to

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

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plastic art. This represented self-evolution as the direct and Supreme being as the indirect source of manifestation of the Universe.

This double conception was materialised in later plastic representations of the birth of the Buddha with noticeable indications of both, the natural and the supernatural ideas of origin. In a Sarnath stele of the Gupta-age (Ca 2) the lowest compartment, depicting the conception and the nativity of the Blessed One, shows, on the one hand, an Elephant stooping downwards to enter the womb of the Mother, sleeping on her royal couch, and, on the other hand, is shown, through the right side of the abdomen, the emergence of the child with a halo round the head, while its standing figure is placed on a full-blown lotus, fixed firmly on its stalk.

The Tântrika conception relied upon a Mother of Creation, in the form of a female deity, whose union with Siva was put forth as the cause of Creation. This Great Mother of Creation was represented in art as seated on a lotus flower, with a lotus-stalk held in her left hand, the left side being popularly believed to be more powerful in a female. This type was virtually the same as the one adopted for the Buddhistic Târâ Prajnâpâramitâ.

The lotus received an ever-increasing artistic attention, which gradually gave rise to numerous types, culminating in one of thousand petals, declared by the Tantras to be the abode of the Most High, situated in an inverted position, in the brain of Man. It figured also in the Yantra-diagrams of Tântrika worship.

This flower-design, with its double significance, was more conventional than natural. Its representation on the stone-umbrella of the third year of the reign of Maharaja Kanishka, discovered at Sarnath deposited in the local Museum (Ba 1) is a specimen of the biggest size, 10 feet in diameter. The centre shows the seed-tops; and the series of petals are extended as far as the rims on the inner surface of the gigantic umbrella. In this may be noticed the scheme of a representation of the Universe sought also to be symbolised in the Tântrika Yantra-diagram of worship.

All early plastic representations disclose conventional forms of petals and their numerous arrangements. The adoption of this particular natural flower as an artistic symbol was sought to be explained by some by an assumption that it was due to its similarity with the mystic wheel. The spokes of the wheel radiate towards the circumference in all directions, from a common point constituting its centre, shown with more or less prominence in the form of a small circle; the lotus-design, from its oldest specimen, shows, however, different scheme, in a realistic representation of the calyx with seed-heads protruding out of the same.

The treatment of the lotus as an independent symbol was gradually overshadowed by decorative devices, but it manifested itself in later sculpture in the form of a double lotus seat of deities, with two rows of petals, one pointing towards the unseen bottom, and another towards an endless elevation. This style received its fullness of strength, thickness, and stability in the sculpture of Bengal; and transmitted its design to distant lands in which the flower was absolutely unknown. In the land of snow it has been immortalised by the mystic formula of prayer,—"Om Mani Padme Hum."

Life symbolised by the lotus, was thus sought from the beginning to be depicted by a convention of art, which gave to the lotus plant even the characteristics of a creeper, in wavy curves of artistic dispositions. Life is not merely an existence, it is also a growth, ever exerting itself to achieve its fullness. This was indicated by different forms of the flower, revealing different stages of development, from a mere bud to a finished specimen. This treatment gave to the lotus, in all schemes of decoration, a liveliness, which was vivid in its exuberance. In all early specimens we may notice efforts on these lines; but they were limited more or less to shallow carving, hardly sufficient to develop an impression of life for want of thickness. In this respect the sculpture of Bengal achieved a noticeable improvement.

Art required license, not only in the manipulation of the form but also in that

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of the selection of situation, according to which, the salt-water of the sea was no bar to the growth of this plant, nor lands or mountains without any water at all. Laksmi accordingly comes out of the Ocean with a lotus in her hands; Varuna, the god of Ocean, is accompanied by this symbol; and Siva with his consort sits on a full-blown lotus on the snow-clad peaks of Kailasa. A Bengal specimen, in an image-slab of Varuna, discovered in Varendra, now in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. (Figure 3) shows a development of the lotus which will be readily acknowledged as unique. It evidently reveals the freshness of life, with its sweetness and grace, and a tendency of growth in every suggestion of its existence. As this specimen was unearthed in course of a re-excavation, by the Varendra Research Society, of an old tank of Vijaya Sena, the first king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal of twelfth century, at Deopara, in the District of Rajshahi, and as the temple built on its bank was raised to the ground by the Mohammedan invadors, throwing away the fragments of images into the tank, it may be taken, without much hesitation, as one of the specimens of Bengal sculpture of the last epoch of its development. It indicated a growth and not a decadence, up to the last moment, when the art came to receive a final blow at the hands of the iconoclasts smothering the lotus of the life of the nation.

XI.—SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY IN AESTHETICS.

By BINOY KUMAR SARKAR.

My essay on the "Aesthetics of Young India" which appeared in *Rupam* of January 1922 has been honoured with several comments. These have been brought to my notice through the courtesy of the editor.

Two of these are described as "rejoinders," one by "Agastya" and the other by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. The first was printed in the January and the second in the April number of *Rupam* for 1922.

Two other writings, both in Bengali, have been published in the *Bijoli*, a Calcutta weekly. One is from the pen of the editor himself, Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghosh, and the other from that of "Birbal."

It has been suggested by the editor of *Rupam* that I should write my reactions to these criticisms and discussions. So here they are,—replies to the rejoinders, item by item.

1. "The Questions Unanswered."

Mr. Agastya begins his rejoinder with the statement that there are in my essay certain "questions raised but not answered." He should have pointed out exactly what are the questions that have interested me in the article and which questions remain to be answered.

2. Monistic Criticisms.

The following line occurs in my essay (Section 2. The Current Standard of Aesthethic Appraisal): "Virtually with no exception the field of art-appreciation is being dominated in India by one and only one strand of thought." This is what I call "monism" in aesthetic criticism.

This position is challenged by Agastya on the ground that there are the archæologist's creed, the historian's creed, the Calcutta creed and the Bombay creed. Were this a fact, the multiplicity should certainly be in keeping with the pluralistic tendencies in India's contemporary culture.

But certain questions present themselves automatically. First, where are these alleged diverse creeds to be found?—in books or as essays in journals?

Secondly, how many Indian writers have in recent years, say, since 1886 or 1905, written on art-subjects in the Indian language or in English?

Thirdly, supposing modern Indian writings on aesthetics were plentiful, in what respects do they differ, if at all, from one another,—in methodology and in *Leitmotif?*

3. The Alleged Assumptions in the Essay.

According to Agastya I have "gratuitously assumed that the Calcutta creed is identical with the archæologist's creed and the historian's creed." In my essay there is no mention of Calcutta at all. He says further: "Mr. Sarkar also assumes that every artist or aesthetician of modern India is engaged in deciphering worm-eaten palm-leaves on image-making....." Where does Agastya come across this alleged assumption in my writing?

He has also managed to discover that "Mr. Sarkar perhaps believes" that "only the dynamics of impressionists, expressionists and futurists of Europe can deliver Young India from aesthetic stagnation."

But whether Agastya encounters certain to him objectionable facts and ideas in my writing or not he considers himself to be at liberty to discover

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them there and condemn them to his heart's content in almost a whole column and a half.

4. Sensitiveness of a *Nom-de-Plume.*

Mr. Agastya avails himself of this chance to write a part of his autobiography. We are told that he has travelled in Java,—one of the data by which one could without much difficulty identify this connoisseur of sculptures. He tells the readers how much of the world-art belongs not only to his own encyclopædia but also to that of *"l'ecole de Calcutta"* with whom he seems to be identified as guide-philosopher-friend.

Agastya's tale of artistic experiences would be considered quite irrelevant to the thesis criticized. Besides, in any event, why should he be so nervous about the recognition of his qualification ? Does he not prefer to come out in public solely under the *nom-de-plume* of "Agastya" ?

Further, a writer's merit is not to be appraised by the library he can buy or command, the books and journals he reads, the museums and galleries he has visited or the lands and peoples he has known. A writer is to be tested solely by his writing and not by what he says he knows.

In order to do justice to Agastya it was distinctly pointed out in my essay that he has "cared to devote attention to Ruskin, Leighton and other Westerns." (Section I.). He cannot therefore honestly complain that by me at any rate his modernism or catholicity was overlooked.

5. Eclecticism of the Calcutta School.

Incidentally, one important item has become conspicuous in this digression. On Agastya's authority we learn that the members of the Calcutta School of Art are very much at home in the world of Italian primitives, El Greco, Negro sculpture, the masks from New Guinea, the textiles from Peru and the *Independants* of Paris. They are indeed, we are told, perfect guides in the labyrinth of "highways and bye-ways of modern secular art."

This piece of information in regard to the "liberal eclecticism" which prevails among Indian painters of to-day will be valued as a historical fact. Thus considered, the entire column and a half with which Agastya intends to overpower me furnishes, curiously enough, the strongest support to some of the fundamental considerations in my essay—(see, for instance, Section 3. The Boycott of the Western Culture), especially to my general ideas in regard to India's responses to *vishva-shakti* (world-forces).

6. *Vishva-shakti* in the Art of Young India.

In the essay in dispute I have not a word about the "nationalist" artists of India. But Agastya has tried to create an impression that I am blind to their merits. A few observations, therefore, would not here be out of place.

Outside of the writers who are known to be directly associated with these painters I was perhaps one of the first in Bengal to write on the achievements of this school. The Calcutta exhibition of 1913 was described by me at the time and the account is to be read in the volume of essays in Bengali entitled *Vishva-shakti* (1914). The London exhibition of 1914 has been described in my *Ingrajer Janmabhumi*, "The Homeland of the Britishers" (Calcutta, first edition 1915, second edition 1922).

Lest one should suspect that the catholicity of the "nationalist" school of Indian Art has escaped my attention let the following extract from my essay on *School and Society* (New York, April 14, 1917) speak :

"The Giottos of Hindu art would be well-known great masters to the students of early Renaissance painting, and the post-impressionists and futurists of Europe and America would be found to have as their comrades in new ventures and experiments the Indian painters of the modern nationalist school."

In my *Hindu Art : Its Humanism and Modernism* (New York 1920) the concluding paragraph reads as follows :

"The creative art endeavours of Young India's futurists are neither mere calls for "Back to the Past" nor harangues inciting to "Down with the West," as superficial observers or professional spiritualitarians would seem to read in the literary proclamations of the school. These are but the initial surgings of a dynamic *shakti* (energy) that had been pent up for a century and a half—in its *sadhana* (effort) toward achieving the assimilation of this cosmic neo-eclecticism of the modern world; so that a synthetic stage of cultured *sva-raj* (self-determination) may ultimately evolve, on which Asia will be enabled, as of old, freely to move and to strive, to unmake and to make,—boldly to borrow and to lend as an independent unit in the course of spiritual exchange,—unhampered to struggle, to experiment, to live."

The same was the burden of my address before the "forty immortals" of the *Academie des Beaux-Arts (Institut de France)*, Paris, on July 9, 1921 which, although confidential as all official sessions of this *Academie* happen to be, was reported in the *Debats* and *Comoedia*. It was in response to the communication that Monsieur C. Widor, the permanent secretary, remarked in the course of the discussion that ensued : *"Le monde est petit, apres tous. Les frontieres elles n'existent pas."*

In the *Deutsche Rundschau*, (Berlin, April 1922) has appeared my lecture on the *Soziale Philosophie Jung-Indias*, delivered before the *Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft*. The following statement is to the point here :

"Die Bildhauer und Maler von Bombay und Kalkutta wie Mhatre, Phanindra Nath Bose, Abanindra Nath Tagore und Nandalal Bose suchen ihre Technik nicht ausschliesslich aus den

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alt-buddhistischen und indo-persischen Werken. Die grossen Meister von Japan und China, sowie von Europa caben die indischen Künstler gebildet."

Mr. Agastya and his friends should not therefore complain that their tendencies are unknown to myself.

7. The *Modern Review* Episode.

Agastya says: "Monsieur Sarkar bases his attacks on Young Indian æsthethics on the text of a letter of mine, published in the *Modern Review* which he misquotes and mutilates."

No doubt section 1 of my essay contains an extract from a private letter addressed to myself as well as extracts from Agastya's contribution in the *Modern Review*. These extracts have, however, been used merely as representative specimens of the normal manner in which Indian art is generally evaluated. One might therefore eliminate these extracts from my essay without impairing it in any way, especially since the "current standard of æsthethic appraisal" has been explicitly described in section 2.

The subject of Agastya's paper in the *Modern Review* does not at all come in for treatment in my thesis. If that subject had interested me I should have written something for or against him in that journal.

Altogether Agastya's presence in my essay is purely accidental. - His sensitiveness about the worth of his contribution in so far as my writing in *Rupam* is concerned, is a little too abnormal.

Besides, what possible interest could I have to misquote and mutilate him ? I was rather careful to see to it that his standpoint was presented as vigorously as possible, although necessarily in an abridged form.

But Agastya must have a long extract and serves one in his rejoinder. Let readers compare my summary of his position with his own extract and then judge for themselves to what extent his philosophy had been "mutilated" in my bungling hands.

8. Tariff Walls and Internationalism in Art.

In the rejoinder, as often happens, Agastya brings in topics which are alien to the present controversy. He believes, for instance, that the tariff walls of nationalism in Indian art are being broken in by internationalism.

"Between the interstices of a study of a Bodhisattva from the Bagh caves and the copper-gilt *mahasiddhas* from a Tibetan monastery," he informs us, "Degas' Ballet Girls are pushing their skirts. The Cezannes and Van Goghs are rubbing shoulders with the Utamaros and Hunhars."

Statements such as these are like his autobiographical digression uncalled for in the discussion before us. Both are to be appreciated however as important contributions to the study of the forces operating in the mentality of India's present-day artists. Altogether they serve but to strengthen the general trend of my own thinking.

9. Identity between the East and the West.

After having devoted more than three columns to the things that are neither to be found in my essay nor in his original dissertation in the *Modern Review* the author of the "rejoinder" comes to "the burden of Mr. Sarkar's thesis." According to me, as he puts it, "the artistic ideals of the East are practically identical with those of the West."

Yes, this is the burden of my thesis, but only of a part of the thesis (sections 3—7). This does not cover more than 25 per cent. of the entire writing so far as space is concerned. And in regard to the subject matter itself this topic is the least significant part of, at best merely an introduction to, the essay. And as has often been pointed out, the topic is not one of æsthetics at all in its strictest sense but of comparative social philosophy.

Agastya at once discovers, however, that I have introduced "not arguments but false analogies and metaphors." Unless by arguments one means only harangues one should find logic enough to grapple with in the ten tiny paragraphs in which the "alleged Indian point of view" is discussed (section 5). But Agastya does not find any arguments here and so does not virtually come to the point at all. And yet his essay is a "rejoinder"!

10. "False Analogies and Metaphors."

My position is summarized by Agastya thus: "Since the steam engine has improved upon the bullock cart, futurist music must replace the products of *Sangitaratnakara* and the cubists must overtake the Buddhist frescoists." This is what he thinks I have said.

The "false analogies and metaphors" which he condemns are not to be found in my writing but in this passage of his. The sting lies naturally in the words "improved," "replace," "overtake."

Any reader will ask of Agastya: Where does he get these words or their equivalents in my essay ? Is there any *qualitative* evaluation to be noticed in my remarks on the old masters or the new ?

In intellectual discussions it is as easy to confound historical *facts* with moral or æsthetic *judgments* as to commit the fallacy of *non cause pro causa*.

Further, neither the terms "futurist music" and "cubists" nor the phenomena they stand for have any place in my essay. But since people associate all sorts of absurdity with these new names Agastya has sought to evoke a prejudice against my thesis by bringing them in without a word of explanation.

Sangita-ratnakara has been mentioned in my essay only once (section 3). And all that I have to say about music, Eastern or Western, may be seen in sections 4 (Achievements of the Modern Mind) and 7 (Æsthetic Revolution).

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11. The Epoch of Modernism.

"The difference between the East and West in materialism," as I believe, "is then not a difference in ideals but only a difference in time which can be measured by decades" (section 4).

One analogy has certainly been employed by me in this connection. But it does not take the place of argument nor does it seek to fortify the logic in the discussion. It is meant solely to call up a graphic picture by way of illustration.

"What the bullock cart is to the steam engine," I have said, "that is all that Hindu genius had produced during the epochs of its creative history to all that Western genius has produced during, roughly speaking, the last two hundred years. Previous to the advent of the recent phase of civilization East and West ran parallel, nay, identical, in the 'point of view,' in 'genius,' in 'spirit.'

The same analogy, fundamental as it is in my thinking, has been employed a second time,—with special reference to fine arts. The passage runs thus (section 7 Æsthetic Revolution) :

"What the fishing canoe is to the submarine that is all Classic and Christian art to the art of the last two hundred years and that is all Hindu art to European art since the Renaissance." The implication is that Hindu art is identical with and parallel to the Classic and Christian art.

But perhaps the analogy made use of in these two passages is likely to vitiate all discussion in the learned societies to which Mr. Agastya is used. He is therefore invited to delete these sentences and then weigh the rest of the contribution bearing on the alleged distinction in ideals between the East and the West.

12. The World of Emotions (*Rasas*).

Agastya writes: "He (Sarkar) himself feels the absurdity of the analogy and pretends to concede that the emotions with which paintings and sculptures deal belong to a category altogether distinct from the psychological processes involved in the making of exact sciences, material invention, social or political institution, and his suggestion is that fine arts cannot be racial or regional and avoids a discussion of the correct psychological basis of the mentalities operating in the production of art."

Nothing of the kind. There are four statements in this sentence and each one is incorrect and contains a wrong rendering of my standpoint.

First, the analogy is not at all absurd in my estimation. Only, as I have pointed it out, it has to be very carefully employed and interpreted. Besides, one is at liberty to ignore it if one cares to.

Secondly, I have not pretended to concede that the emotions (*rasas*) operating in one sphere of creation are different from those which are experienced by creators in another sphere. That is rather an objection which might be raised against my standpoint and as such I have clearly stated the objection.

Thirdly, the suggestion as to whether the fine arts are local or universal has only been taken to be a corollary to the above problem.

Fourthly, it is not true, in the manner that Agastya wants his readers to believe, that I have avoided a discussion of the mentalities operating in fine arts. Section 6 ("Race Ideals in Fine Arts") is intended to carry forward the argument of section 5 (which deals with the other phases of civilization) to the special field of æsthetics.

13. The Objective Psychology of Fine Arts.

Agastya, however, is not verbally all wrong. There is one question which I have raised and not answered. And the problem which has been consciously avoided in my essay is the *physiology* of emotions. It must be admitted that this is a branch of investigation which, as in other human (and social) achievements, is likely to furnish some of the positive foundations of fine arts.

But although to a certain extent right *to the letter* Agastya is wrong in spirit. For in experimental psychology the mentalities can be studied not only with reference to the physiological reactions but also objectively and behavioristically. And this latter is what I have done.

"Certain types" have been singled out "at random" "from the art-history of the world." And these have been examined "with an eye to the pragmatic meaning of the diverse art-forms in the life's scheme of the different peoples."

Section 6 concludes thus : "Where, then, are the distinctive racial traits and psychological attitudes in the world's architecture, sculpture and painting ?"

The answer is :—"Nowhere. Such differences have never existed in the mentality of which history furnishes the objective evidence."

Only ten paragraphs have been devoted to this examination. Of course one could also write a volume of 450 pages with 350 illustrations such as might demonstrate the pragmatic identity in the matter and manner of creative art.

14. "Half-truths."

Somewhere Agastya remarks : "We could have given our critic a hoast of parallelisms in which he revels with such infatuation without being able to apprehend their differences."

On another occasion he says : "M. Sarkar is an adept in the presentation of half-truths."

In a third instance he finds fault with my "dogmatism."

While reading all this a neutral judge would at once remember the Baconian *idolas*. One *idola* consists in the tendency to discover diversities and differences. The tendency to detect identities and resemblances is equally another *idola*.

But how is the problem to be decided as to which resemblances are "essential" and which differences

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are "significant"? What really are the "whole" truths ?

Yes, when the whole academic world, vitiated by Imperialism as it happens to be, is obsessed with the dogma of diversity and divergence the bomb-shell which is destined to crush it can be pervaded only with the spirit of identity and resemblance. And this new message of racial equality, revolutionary as it is, is an outstanding element in the "futurism of Young Asia."

15. The Triumph of Agastya.

"It is immaterial," says Agastya, "if the Catholic Fathers, and Zen priests or the Brahmin philosophers have thought alike, it is the individual and special form devised at each epoch to give expression to the thought which offer new creations in art."

No, Mr. writer of the "rejoinder," it is not immaterial. This is just the bone of contention. What else have we been talking about all this time ? Is it not with the ideals of civilization, the messages, philosophies, mentalities, life's values and so forth of the races that my essay deals in its condemned part (section 2) ?

Don't shift your ground, Mr. Agastya. Your friends are asking you to wait a minute there and watch if your "arguments" have not at last brought you to a position which compels you to submit to an unconditional surrender and evacuate the field.

These *rishis* of the East and the West have not only "thought alike," they have also dreamed alike and superstitioned alike. They have philosophized alike, poetized alike, sung alike, painted alike, sculptured alike, architectured alike.

In all these comparisons one must always have to open one's eyes to the "pragmatic meaning of the diverse art forms in the life's scheme of the different peoples" (section 6).

17. Pragmatism in the "Form" Question.

We have been instructed by Agastya to recognise that "it is the individual and special form devised at each epoch to give expression to the thought which offer new creations in art."

Yes, it is quite easy to point out, say, perhaps, that the Catholic Saints have beards and the Indian *Avalokiteshvaras* have *tikis* (queues.) The Greek Venuses do not wear *sari* while the Indian Lakshmîs do. The Chinese and Japanese Buddhas certainly look Bhutiya or Mongolian (if ethnologists will allow these terms) and the Indian Buddhas,—what should I call it ?—Punjabi or Bengali.

Certainly, without the *tiki*, the beard, the nose, the eyes, the drapery, the khadam, the sandal, nobody would recognise the figures to which one is used. But these externals,—are they superficial or essential ?

What is the mentality underlying these diverse forms ? What do these creations—man or woman —bearded or clean-shaved—in *sari* or in some other drapery—mean in the life and surroundings of the people who are accustomed to these forms ? What superstitions or what folk-philosophies have clustered round the Heavenly Mothers—Mary and Durgâ ?

When in this manner one proceeds to grapple with the problem of *rupam* (form) pragmatically, i.e., in its orientation to the life's values, one detect, according to the standpoint of my thesis, the same old Adam everywhere.

This is almost a truism. But the historic uniformity in the mental and moral make-up of the Eastern and Western races has been ignored and suppressed by the philosophers and savants of the West in learned discussions, such as have been conducted during the period of their military, political and economic domination over the East.

It is but natural that the doctrine of equality between the races, implied as it is in this fact of psychical and institutional identity or parallelism, should be contested tooth and nail by the exponents of "science" among the "superior races" of modern Eur-America. But the wonder is that the Easterns themselves, incapable as they are of detecting the chauvinism of the Westerns as prevalent in their philosophical dogmas, should have blindly been worshipping the dictum of the prejudiced.

18. "The Greek Way of Putting Things."

We are next treated to an eloquent lecture on the "crucible of Chinese genius," "the Chinese way," the Italian Madonnas, "racial thought and culture," and the "Greek point of view." In other words, in discussing with Agastya you end where you began.

"There is an Indian way as well as an Italian or a Greek way of putting things." This is what Agastya states a hundred times in different forms with permutation and combination. Perhaps he believes, one may take it from his art-philosophy, that because he has said a thing in a hundred different *forms* the world will understand that he has said a hundred different *things*.

The alleged "Indian way" and the alleged "Greek way" have long been known to the academic world. Agastya's dissertation in the *Modern Review* is in the same key. How does he strengthen his position now by simply repeating the twice-told tales, especially when he is up with a "rejoinder" to crush the heresy that challenges them in their entirety ?

19. "Cheap internationalism."

"One dull red" is the only colour which Agastya says can be detected "through the neutral spectacles of Mr. Sarkar's cheap internationalism." Let us see.

Take, for instance, the Kajri Dance. One sees in the picture some women, a particular dress on the women, certain floral and other ornaments. These flowers are known to grow in India. The women are dancing, the movements are noticeable. They

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are dancing in a particular season of the year. And finally, the complexion of the women is not albino or white.

Where, now, is the "Indianness" here ? What is the value,—once more the pragmatic significance—of the idiosyncrasies, the differential treatments, the elements of race and place in this piece of painting ?

Or, again, to take a hint from Agastya's lecture on the Chinese Buddhas. One does not need exceptionally bright eyes to see that these Buddhas look "very Chinese" in physiognomy and drapery. But still one must ask : "What is the new philosophy of life, the new *rasa* the Chinese viewpoint here, as contrasted with the Indianness of the Indian Buddhas ?"

Let those who are exponents of deep nationalism or profound internationalism answer these questions. The world remains yet to be convinced on rational grounds as to why and how the *Kajri Dance*, allowing for its Indian paraphernalia, could not be a non-Indian work, or why and how the Mongolian Buddhas of Cathay are also not equally Caucasian saints of Europe in the *rasa* of mysticism and metaphysics.

20. Comparative Art-History.

"Peruginos and Corregios," says Agastya, "are miles apart in their presentation of identical themes. M. Sarkar could not pigeon-hole them together, in the cabinet of his international bureau."

Men with common sense never pigeon-hole complexes without being sure of the *basis* of comparison. The phases or parts of the "cases" have to be analyzed before the grouping can begin.

A dog is serviceable to mankind and of course a human being also is. From the standpoint of serviceableness nobody could object to placing the dog and the human being in the same category. And yet certainly a dog is not a man.

Similarly a god might also be pigeon-holed with a dog. For instance, as a work of the painter's brush, the only point of comparison might be, say, the artist's mastery over a certain colour. And of course nobody is cynical enough to assert that a god is a dog.

One who quarrels with the principle of classification or the *fundamentum divisionis* cannot go far in the evaluation of things.

We are taught further that the "Latinity of Renaissance painting is as stern a fact as the Indianness of Brahminical sculptures or the Confucianism (why not the Taoism or Buddhism, Mr. Agastya ?) of a Chinese landscape."

One wonders if Agastya understands the terms which he uses so facilely ? Each one of these—Latinity, Brahminism and Confucianism—bears a "pluralistic universe."

For instance, the Confucianism of Mencius is not the same as the Confucianism of Chu-hsi and both again are different from the Confucianism of Wang Yang-ming.

Whether the "cases" be concrete phenomena or abstract entities, in instituting comparison, they have first to be analyzed into their constituent parts, and secondly, placed "under the same conditions of temperature and pressure" *i.e.* brought down to a "common denominator." Comparative method is not easy to handle in any science. The incapacity to handle the comparative method has been the source of all fallacies in social science in so far as our present problem is concerned.

One who is rightly oriented to the methodology of comparative sciences will find that certain elements in the one group of Agastya's phenomena are pragmatically, *i.e.* with reference to the human values, identical with certain elements in the others. Those investigators who proclaim the identity of art-souls and art-forms and also specify the conditions under which this identity holds true know what they are doing.

21. The Common Denominator.

Another of Agastya's aphorisms runs thus : "It is for the glory of art-forms and their creators that they refuse to come under one uniform standardized denomination to which Mr. Sarkar is so anxious to reduce them."

Herein lies the trouble with the mentality of metaphysicians and subjectivists. They will not face facts. They refuse to open their eyes to the objective world.

No, sir, the holiest of holies, the Appolos, the Buddhas, the Christs, the Mothers can all be brought down to a common denominator exactly in the same sense as the potatoes, the eggs, the apes, the human bodies, the chemicals and the machines. Only, you have always to define precisely the items which you are including in your denominator for the time being.

The student of art-development will have to state on each occasion which elements interest him most, for instance, the almond eye or the aquiline nose or the muscles or the fingers or the lips, or the complexion or the coiffure or the drapery or the ornaments such as anatomy and ethnography deal with. He will also have to be definite in his queries regarding, say, anger, hatred, jealousy, war, sympathy, pity, admiration, love and so forth with which the psychology of *rasa* deals.

If you fear the common denominator you will have to fear the very essence of your being, the atmosphere of your soul, the core of your personality, your claim to existence on earth, the title to your individuality. It is the common denominator that has placed Ajanta and Bharhut before mankind as the glories of the creative spirit. It is the common denominator that has made of Kalidas and Al among immortals. It is the common denominator that has established Patanjali and Bhaskaracharyya among the pre-cursors of Lavoisier and Newton. And if you have eyes you will not have failed to notice that it is the common denominator that has

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enabled the "ideas of 1905" to win recognition among contemporary *vishva-shakti* (world-forces).

22. Cultural Exchange between the East and the West.

Mr. Agastya wants us to know that he is not oblivious of the supreme necessity of an "exchange of culture between the East and the West." This is playing to the gallery. But the author of the rejoinder forgets what his readers, however, remember that this is not the subject for discussion.

Your readers are advising you not to make excursions but to stick to the problem of proving that the Indian or the Eastern "view of life" is different from the Greek, the Christian or the Western view of life.

What is wanted is not hypothesis, postulate or prejudice nor an array of quotations from the learned men of the world who have written on the East and the West, but evidences, historical and objective, the "common denominator" facts and ideas, item by item, and epoch by epoch.

23. "Pure Art Values."

The lengthy rejoinder of Agastya concludes with a paragraph which begins thus:

"I have no quarrel, on the whole, with what Mr. Sarkar says under the heading of 'Historical Criticism' and 'Themes of Art.' They contain valuable matters which may help to educate the attitude of a section of our people who are too much occupied with the subject matter of art to be able to extend any appreciation of what has been known as 'pure art values.'"

I thank you, dear colleague; so far, so good.

It appears then, that Agastya agrees, "on the whole," with more than sixty per cent. of the essay (sections 8-18). For, the two headings specified by him are but preliminaries to the main thesis, viz., that on the "artness of art," the *swaraj* of *shilpa*, the autonomy of art-forms.

The question of the ideals of civilization and the alleged distinction between the East and the West, however important and interesting in itself as a study in social philosophy, is according to my essay absolutely irrelevant to the study of æsthetics as such. That is why as preliminary to my main problem this question had to be grappled with in order to indicate some of the "extraneous matters" which have been eclipsing the study of art as "the thing in itself." And it is to a lengthy rejoinder on these extraneous matters that a lengthy reply is unluckily being inflicted upon readers.

24. Enter Stella Kramrisch.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch enters the arena with a philosophical declaration.

"To all the definitions of art" says she, "one may add another one, equally true and relevant, namely, that art is a substance subject to discussions *ad infinitum* with impunity."

I beg your pardon, learned doctor, this is not a definition of art, whatever else it may be according to formal logic.

Then comes the following remark: "The statement that what the fishing canoe is to the submarine (*vide* section 11 present essay) is the underlying idea of Mr. Sarkar's essay."

No, madam, as has been indicated above in the verbal war with Agastya it is the underlying idea of a very small part of the essay and of a part which has absolutely nothing to do with art itself.

"The assertion that any period of art surpasses all others by its artistic merits," says the doctor's rejoinder in the third paragraph, "is not only obviously against all insight into the nature of art, but it also proves a rhetoric presumption gained by an acquaintance with the current art-terminology of Western critics."

The word "surpasses" or its equivalent occurs nowhere in my essay. Like Agastya, the learned doctor, also sees things in my writing which do not exist there (*vide* section 10, present essay). The "rhetoric presumption, etc." of which she eloquently complains is therefore a part of the rhetoric in her own style.

Dr. Kramrisch is sitting in judgment on myself as well as on Agastya. I am declared to be right in my assertion that "only the *how* of artistic realization is essential." This indicates that like Agastya the learned doctor also is, "on the whole" (because in any case one must exclude details) in agreement with my main thesis, the major portion of my essay.

But Dr. Kramrisch has a chance to say something after she has heard two sides, the polarities or the antitheses in the present instance. In the style of the Delphic oracle she is in a position therefore "to pronounce that Agastya who pleads for the Indianness of Indian arts is right too." We have here a verse from the Sibylline books. How far Agastya is right, however, has already been examined in the reply to his rejoinder.

Dr. Kramrisch has no objection to admitting in *Rupam* (April 1922) that in the Middle Ages both India and Europe were spiritualistic. But whether her ideas are quite clear about it one may doubt from her recent writing in the *Modern Review* (December 1922) in which she adumbrates that India's tradition is "purer than that of any other civilization."

25. The "Sitting Buddha."

Certain interesting problems have been set by the learned doctor.

She wants somebody to explain why it is that the "sitting Buddha" as a work of art or a scheme of composition was not created in the West. The answer is to be found only in the problems of the origin of forms and variation of types.

The "sitting Buddha" as form has nothing in it essentially purer or more spiritual. The only question of importance for our present controversy is: Have the Westerns or have they not, in any period

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of their art-development, invented the types which although differing from the "sitting Buddha" motif, convey the same message of life, *rasa*, view point, or outlook to the men, women and children who are "polarized" to them ?

We are told, again, that no Japanese Buddha would ever be taken for an Indian Buddha, even although the back were just glimpsed at. Yes, but it only shows that one form is different from the other,—not necessarily the mentalities underlying them.

"Why, for example," we are asked further, "the Buddha from Saranath must needs be Indian!" No, the question should have been framed in the following, more accurate manner : "Why the Buddha from Saranath must needs be Saranathan ?"—for "Indian" is too continental a category including as it does the Punjabi, Marathi, Bengali, Nepalese, Oriya and other Buddhas.

The question, however, is as valuable as "why A must needs be A ?" The mystery lies in the "law of identity." To know something to be Indian by the usual conventions is not a great discovery except to the novice in ethnography, and then to philosophize about its being bound to be Indian is no contribution to thought. At best it can lead only to arguing in a circle.

These questions can trouble the mind only when one is overpowered by certain pre-conceptions, "fixed ideas" or postulates about the "Indianness" of the Indian "spirit."

26. Stereotyping in Art-Development.

The history of forms, types, patterns, designs, motives, conventions, etc., is a problem by itself and may be studied on its own merits. A little excursion, therefore, into the outskirts of a vast subject.

If one ransacks the inventories of anthropology, one finds that the number of types invented by the human race is very small. Notwithstanding the pride we have been accustomed to feeling as human beings on the score of creative urge the history of civilization is indeed poor in its art-species.

Almost each one of the creative races has failed to produce more than a very limited number of prevailing norms. Human genius has had to be satisfied mostly with the imitation of precedents. Variations, changes, revolts, breaks with the "tradition," innovations,—these evidences of aggressive personality have been few and far between.

This innate lethargy of the brain or conservatism of the soul, call it despotism of custom, stereotyping, fossilizing, traditionalism, whatever you will, is evident as much in ancient Greece or mediæval Europe as in Hindustan or China. Venus, Tara, Mary, Appolo, Buddha, Christ,—these and their entourage virtually constitute the stock-in-trade of entire Eur-Asian art-culture.

While investigating the traditionalized types in art one may be led to the interesting study of the art-souls, i.e., of the psychology of the races. But in that field the main problem will be not that the forms are so characteristic, for these he who runs may see, but whether these stereotyped forms, diverse as they are, do really imply diverse psychologies.

27. Variation in Forms.

In the study of types a question is bound to come up again and again. And this, almost a metaphysical problem, may be thus stated : "Why do the forms, the types, the norms, the traditions, the *eidos* differ at all ?" The subject is as abstruse as any other problem in origins or beginnings. We are speaking not exclusively of the types in fine arts as such but of all the ideas, ideals, conventions which the creative races have invented through the ages.

Goethe is a dramatist, one of the greatest in the world. But his creations do not reproduce the type with which Shakespearean drama makes one familiar although Goethe himself was a pronounced Shakespeare enthusiast.

If soul-distinctions in race were to be sought in this diversity of dramatic form, the "short story," the sonnet, *vers libre*, the ballad, the epic, and the memoir as types would have to be interpreted climatologically and ethnographically. And the quest for "first principles," "the great beginning," the original type—the Adam and Eve of human creations would lead to a subjective nowhere —the *mahashunya*, the "great void," perhaps of a Ramai Pandit.

But in the mean time, howsoever interesting in its own way that quest be, it is objectively selfevident that forms are varied. Besides, we are almost forced to admit that the forms happen to be accidentally struck upon by the creative individual in his strivings to satisfy the urge of creation. Æsthetically as much as biologically creation is blindly struggling to evolve order out of nebulæ.

In the process the types—the characters, the situations, the melodies, the plastic forms, the groupings, the designs—are competing among themselves for recognition and survival. The creator's selection, his taste, fancy, caprice, whim, mannerism or fad decides for the time being which type is fit to receive his hallmark. In the transition from one type to another also nothing more weighty is to be observed than just an accidental variation in this taste or mannerism. In the creations or rather variations the mightiest role is ever played by chance, and this notwithstanding the momentum of historic determinism.

With the advance of civilization the struggle for creation has proceeded no doubt more and more consciously and purposely. But all the same the type that at last passes current through creative selection comes out of "accidental" "experiments." Not to find the exact Venus pose in the Tara or the Christ paraphernalia in the Buddha (coming back to the main controversy) is therefore not

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tantamount to missing the essential elements in the *psyche* of the creators or the creative races.

28. The *How* in Art.

According to Dr. Kramrisch "Mr. Sarkar's point of view is very one-sided. By dealing exclusively with composition nothing is gained."

The learned doctor here employs a sweepingly universal negative. But so far as art as the thing in itself is concerned let me submit once more that nothing is more important than composition, taken in its wide sense.

But Dr. Kramrisch does not seem to be sufficiently clear in her ideas. Once she had said that I was right in emphasizing that the "how" of artistic realization is essential. But now she finds me one-sided on just the same score.

So far as "composition" and "how" etc., are concerned, my essay leaves no vagueness as to what I mean by them. About half the article deals with these phenomena.

29. "A weak Gândhara relief."

"One of the sculptures analyzed in my section 17 "Geometry of Sculpture" is *Le Sommeil des Femmes*. Dr. Kramrisch begins by calling it a "weak Gândhara relief,"—perhaps because in order to be loyal to her pro-Indianism she must have to condemn the *Mlechchha* (Hellenistic-Afghan) stuff of Gândhara.

However be it, she opines that "irrational geometry and immanent structure which alone constitute a work of art" are "sadly missing" in it. The doctor's judgment is learned indeed. And because the piece has been eulogized by me I am considered to be an ass.

Let the readers sample out a bit of my own lengthy analysis and judge for themselves. Here follow a few of my remarks :

"We do not have to examine the piece anatomically or anthropologically. From top to bottom, from right to left we are here viewing nothing but a drama of forms and the interplay of light and shade. Every curve tells a story to the eyes.... The melody of rhythmic contours in this bas-relief is constant and perpetual..... Morphologically it is indeed an A. B. C. in art-formations. It is a real primitive of art-technique."

But the learned doctor has found no "irrational geometry" in it and is therefore not prepared to call it a "work of art."

30. Historical Point of View.

Having been satisfied as to my superficiality in one direction Dr. Kramrisch goes on: "With equal superficiality subject matter and historical point of view are condemned on grand scale! Subject-matter and history are not so simple facts as Mr. Sarkar wishes them to be."

Once more has one to suspect if the learned doctor knows what she is talking about. If she does not forget her own verdict about the "how" of art-realization she must have to admit the strength of my position, viz., that howsoever interesting or important otherwise, history and subject matter are absolutely worthless subjects in a discussion of the art-in-itself.

The creator's business is only to manipulate forms. The observer has to *see* them with his eyes and not *read about* them. If æsthetic criticism helps to explain what to see and how to see, its function is fulfilled.

31. The Seer *vs.* the Scholar.

My stupidity is manifest in the failure to find the Indianness in Indian art does not surprise Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghosh, editor of the *Bijoli*. It is easily explained by my natural limitations, he believes.

Mr. Ghosh's dissertation begins with a distinction that is said to exist between a genius (*rishi*) or seer and a mere scholar. Chaitanya, the logician, says he had to die before Chaitanya the god could be born.

The *shastrajna*, the scientist (?) or the scholar has to measure, count and judge. But how the genius, the *rishi* the seer or the god proceeds to his work Mr. Ghosh has overlooked to describe, evidently through haste.

My humble self has been placed by him in the scholar-group. And a scholar, he thinks, is by nature incompetent to appreciate the fine art. These can be fathomed only through the aid of Bergsonian "intuition" perhaps, because according to him "they are not exactly such stuff as intelligence can create."

32. The Artist.

Continuing in the same strain the *Bijoli* adds : "In literature, in art, in music, in sculpture, in none of these is Benoy Babu endowed by God with talent. Rabindra, Abanindra, Nandalal, Rodin, George Russell, and Yeats are not made by studies and travels, they are born."

The fine arts, whether Indian, Greek or Italian, we are to take it, can be understood only by such seers of truth. Each one of these men belongs evidently to the "Chaitanya the God" category, and perhaps also Mr. Ghosh himself, for otherwise he would not be competent to communicate to us mortals what these gods, the *rishis* and the geniuses have "seen."

33. Goethe and Art-Criticism.

In this connection one is reminded of a classical controversy. Writing from Weimar in July 1851 on Goethe's art-collections Adolf Stahr describes some of the attacks from the side of painters and sculptors to which the great man was exposed because he dared pass judgments on paintings and sculptures. "*Weil Goethe selbst kein Maler oder Bildhauer war solte er auch nicht uber*

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die Werk der bildendeni Kunst urtelien Konnen." As Goethe himself was neither painter nor sculptor, thus reports Stahr, he could not also have the capacity to judge the works of creative art. According to the prevailing notions, only a painter had the right to pass judgments on paintings.

Exactly the opposite was Goethe's own attitude. "*Goethe selbst war bescheidener. Er hat nie behauptet, dass nur ein Dichter uber Poesie grundlich urteilen konne.*" Stahr writes that Goethe himself was more modest. He had never asserted that only a poet could judge poetry thoroughly. (Stahr's *Weimar und Uena,* I, Teil).

34. The "Connoisseur-sages of the World."

Mr. Ghosh tells his constituency that "all the great art-connoisseur sages of the world" know it full well that although the arts of the different regions are one in certain respects they are no less varied in others.

We need not inquire as to who these sages are nor discuss what they have said about the different schools of art. The only apposite question here is: Did these great critic sages establish the diversity of the Greek, Dutch and other systems by the method of Chaitanya the logician or of Chaitanya the god?

Perhaps in the present instance Mr. Ghosh believes that every critic or historian who has written essays or books on the fine arts, European or Asian is a sage, jnânî, rishi, god, genius, seer and what not. In that event wherein lies the distinction between the seer and the scholar with which the *Bijoli* philosophy of art criticism begins?

35. The Indian Bullock-cart.

One judgment in the *Bijoli* runs thus: "Although a son of India, the contempt with which Benoy Babu looks upon his motherland through Europeanized eyes is apparent in the fun he makes over the Indian bullock-cart."

As the bullock-cart passage is already before the readers (section 11, present essay) one may judge for oneself as to the quality or quantity of fun I am alleged to have enjoyed at the cost of my Motherland.

The only other passage on the bullock-cart is the following: "Our Vishvakarmâ had succeeded in inventing a bullock-cart. He could not hit upon the steam engine. Is this why the bullock-cart is to stand for spirituality and the steam engine for gross materialism?" (Section 4. Achievements of the Modern Mind.)

36. *Swâraj* in *Shilpa.*

According to the *Bijoli*, "Benoy Babu has not forgotten to crack jokes about the *swaraj* of *shilpas*" I am accused of having called self-determination in fine arts nothing but Bolshevism.

Even Mr. Agastya and Dr. Stella Kramrisch would be prompted to remark that most probably Mr. Ghosh has not read my essay at all. For my main thesis is intended just to establish the idea of *swaraj* in *shilpa.* (Section 11.)

37. Religion *vs.* Spirituality.

In section 6 I have the following passage: "The sculptures of Greece and their Roman copies do not tell any story different from the images of the Hindu gods and goddesses." Perhaps in reference to this Mr. Ghosh makes the following observation: "Yes, both the classical and the Hindu sculptures may be religious. But who is going to explain to this dunce of a scholar that religion is not identical with spirituality? By truth scholars understand only religion because in the pages of books nothing more is to be found."

Anybody who has time to go through my section 6, will feel that both religiosity and spirituality, both the materialistic and the mystical, both the finite and the infinite elements have been considered in my observations in regard to the specimens of art from different epochs and lands. Whatever Mr. Ghosh may happen to understand by immensity, transcendentalism and so forth as being characteristics of Bharhut and Ajanta he will find to his soul's satisfaction in Christian cathedrals as well.

Nor are the "pagan" creations of Greece so very fleshly, after all. To appreciate the supernatural, mystical, idealistic and infiniteward strands and tendencies in Greek drama, philosophy and arts one must have the patience to attack the problem with a thoroughly fresh mind,—emancipated from the ultra-secular interpretation which traditional Hellenic scholarship "sicklied o'er" with Christianism as it is, has fastened upon the isles of Greece.

The other side of the shield has also to be watched in an absolutely new spirit. In order to do justice to the "flesh and the world" in Asian civilization and appreciate the claims of Oriental materialism, humanism and positivism one will have to purge oneself of the one-sided spiritualitarian interpretation, by which the history of Asia has been obsessed through the chauvinistic manœuvring of Eur-American colonialists and orientalists.

38. "The Ginger Merchant."

The *Bijoli* endorses the stand point of Agastya and declares that I deal in "half-truths." Then the journal harps again on my limitations.

"Benoy Babu," it says, "is not a creator, he is only a writer or essayist. He can therefore merely weigh the poet or the artist but can by no means understand them. Just as the scholar does not find God but knows only the book, so Benoy Babu does not know art, he keeps a statistics of art products and goes about seeing pictures."

Further remarks the *Bijoli* in a spirit of condolence, "One need not be ashamed of one's limitations, for nobody can know or do everything."

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"But," writes Mr. Ghosh finally, "when the ginger merchant gets interested in news regarding the movements of ships one cannot help laughing. In this vain effort extending over thirty-one columns the writer has only made himself into a laughing stock."

A ginger merchant, in the Bengali joke employed here, should confine his interests only to the petty boats which ply between little villages on the banks of rivers. His business does not entitle him to display any anxiety over sea-going vessels and inter-continental trade problems.

I am therefore advised by Mr. Ghosh to keep to my own sphere, *i.e.*, I should not have ventured upon writing an essay on art. His constituency believes perhaps that he himself is oiling his own *charka* (wheel) while offering me this friendly advice.

39. "Intellectual Gymnastics."

The dissertation in the *Bijoli* concludes thus: "In this lengthy essay Benoy Babu has only managed to make an exhibition of his learning. But the subject remains exactly where it was. Even after this huge intellectual gymnastics painters will paint and poets will sing each in his own way, and God's flowers will blossom as roses and lotuses but not all will be colourlessly described as mere flowers."

A fine peroration,—but not to the point. How art-criticism stands in relation to art-creation is not my problem. Nor is it my object to dictate to the artists how and what they should create. An essay on art is just an essay on art and nothing more.

But already the Editor of *Rupam* has the following note in his January 1922 number: "We invite further discussion on this interesting subject which should offer important influences on the future development of Indian art." Let Mr. Ghosh take cognisance of this and "contemplate" the normal functions of an æsthetic discussion.

In the second place, certainly, the roses are not lotuses nor are the red lotuses identical with the white ones. But, since the whilom bomb-expert of "secret societies" has bidden adieu to his *swadharma* (own sphere) and taken to "public activities" on the spiritual plane he seems hardly to have time to read (unless through God-drunkenness he manages intuitively to "see") what my profane essay has to say about the diversity of *rupam* (form) in the art-world.

40. Social Science *vs.* Aesthetics.

"The subject of this controversy is politics, not art," writes Mr. "Birbal" in the *Bijoli*. A most significant distinction has been brought out in this statement.

As has been often pointed out in my essay, the question of ideals, civilization, East, West and so forth, howsoever important in social science, is the least part of æsthetics. Everybody in the East or the West who is interested in the progress of scientific art-appreciation will congratulate Birbal on this his clean-cut dictum.

41. *Rasa* and *Patra* in Art.

"Birbal" had been asked by Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghosh to arbitrate between the two parties in Bengal which are said to have been created in the controversy between Agastya and myself. Beginning with the remarks that the only reason why he should have been selected as umpire in this tug-of-war on art is probably because he knows nothing of art, Birbal says:

"The discussions going on in *Rupam* have no bearing on art. Partly they have reference to science, partly to philosophy. The problem discussed is not one of *rasa* (emotion) but of the caste-system (classification) of *rasa*."

Birbal then summarizes the main ideas in Agastya's art-philosophy according to which the Eastern *rasa* is different from and also superior (as being more spiritual) to the Western. "But," comments Birbal, "whether art is a function of *rasa* or of *patra* (form)"—employing here the distinction in mediæval Indian logic,—is not quite clear in Agastya's mind. Nor has Agastya been able to manage the problem as to whether the form holds the *rasa* or the *rasa* holds the form. In his hands the *rasa* leaks out while trying to hold the form and on the other hand his form breaks to pieces while trying to hold the *rasa*." The metaphor can be fully appreciated only when one realizes that in Indian languages *rasa* is a term indicating something liquid while *patra* literally indicates a vessel.

My position is next summarized by Birbal. "In my estimation," says he, "there is no *rasa* to be had outside of a *patra*. It is form that is the substance of art."

42. "Birbal" delivering Judgment.

Having stated the two sides Birbal proceeds to argue. "Everybody is aware," says he, "that classification is the function of science, and the function of philosophy is to speculate about time and space. And it is well known to artists, at any rate, if not to the laymen that neither of these branches of learning is on nodding terms with art. Consequently while engaged in interpreting form it is worthless, spending one's breath on the formless."

On the caste system or classification of art Birbal has the following to say: "I am unwilling to enter that discussion because it should be conducted in a European language, for it is Europeans who have set that problem rolling. Besides, it is absolutely fruitless just as it is utterly unnecessary to listen to the rhetoric of grammarians while seeking to appreciate poetry."

Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghosh did not have to take part in the controversy, so believes Birbal, "since

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Agastya had taken Benoy Babu to task quite forcefully, incident by incident.

43. Mannerisms in Criticism.

According to Birbal, "Agastya is very European in temperament. He has made many personal attacks on Benoy Babu. It seems Agastya wants the world to understand that any criticism of his statements is tantamount to contempt of court."

"Agastya finds fault with Benoy Babu," says Birbal, "on the ground that he is an 'ex-natoinalist.' Should this be true, how does this change affect the value of Benoy Babu's arguments? The subject for discussion here is art, not nationalism. Perhaps Agastya believes that art is merely a phase of nationalism. That this is not so is apparent to readers of Rabindranath's *Creative Ideal.*"

"Then, again," comments Birbal, "Agastya has tried to excommunicate Benoy Babu out of his race by describing him as 'Franco-Bengalee,' 'Euro-American' and so forth. But if Benoy Babu is the former, he cannot at the same time be the latter, and if he be the latter, he cannot also be the former. This is simple logic. But Agastya does not owe any debts to logic. Had he the least respect for logic he could never have recourse to *argumentum ad hominum.*"

44. Birbal *vs.* Agastya.

The *nom-de-plume* of Agastya is next discussed by Birbal. "The old Indian *rishi* Agastya," says Birbal, "is famous for two of his feats. One consisted in the laying low of the Vindhya Mountains, and the other in the drinking off of the salt seas. Each of these he is known to have accomplished in one single effort.

"Certainly these are great achievements and indicate certain enviable qualities. But they testify none the less to the *rishi's* poverty in the sense of proportion. Unfortunately, however, against Agastya, it is a fact that the sense of proportion is a chief element in the art-sense.

"Consequently in assuming the name of Agastya, the writer has failed to give evidence either of the sense of *rasa* or of form.

Further, "Agastya claims that he lives in Canopus, the star which can be seen only through a telescope. So be it. Now, if on account of living in Paris Benoy is an ex-nationalist and incompetent to understand India how it is possible for the inhabitant of Canopus to remain a nationalist of Madras?

"Besides, may be, Benoy Babu's essay is learned and that certainly is a vice. But Agastya's writing is full of megalomania, and this certainly is no virtue."

45. The "Third Æsthetic Eye."

"If it is true," argues Birbal, "that Agastya lives in Canopus he must be seeing the world through a telescope, and in that case this world of ours should look absolutely one round whole. But Agastya says that the divine æsthetic vision consists in seeing the world divided up into its separate geographical parts! This is an inconsistency of Agastya's which is but another evidence of his indifferentism to logic."

"That the capacity to magnify small things as through a microscope and recognize them as great is an element in divine vision was unknown to me before," says Birbal. "But that Agastya has a third eye in art is quite evident for he asserts that his first æsthetic inspiration was awakened not by the works of the world-renowned European artists but by those of the Africans."

Agastya is then dismissed by Birbal in the following manner: "In regard to Agastya's garrullousness one word more. Art is self-expressive. It talks to us itself, it tells its own story. The more afar from us the people who seek to point it out to us with their fingers the better for our art-appreciation. For the danger is that these fingers are likely more often to blind our eyes than not."

46. The Geometry of Art.

Birbal next comes to my analysis of form. "Trying to avoid one fallacy," says he, "art-critics run headlong into the pitfall of another. Thus Benoy Babu has with great pains delivered art from geography,—but only to leave it to the tender care of geometry. Art according to him is a function of space. And the more it approaches the pyramid the higher (the superior) will it be."

In so far as it relates to art as being a problem in space-reconstruction Birbal's summary of my ideas is correct. But where, in my essay, does he get the pyramid-idea or even any hint as to the superiority of one form to another?

47. Finale.

According to Birbal, Agastya has made a profound statement for he admits that Benoy Babu has demonstrated the *swarajya,* independence of art.

To this Birbal adds: "Nay, more. Each work of art itself is *swarat,* i.e., selfstanding or self-sufficient. In regard to each piece one might say: "'The only peer thou hast is thyself!' Any other comparisons, *e.g.*, those bearing on Eastern and Western ideals are idle and meaningless."

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REVIEWS.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, VOL. I. ANCIENT INDIA, EDITED BY E. J. RAPSON. UNIVERSITY PRESS. CAMBRIDGE 1922, CHAPTER XXVI. THE MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIA, PP. 612-649.

TO archæologists who have been looking forward to the publication of the Cambridge History of India with bated breath as a revelation of astounding discoveries of new material, and of new and daring conclusions from the old premises, the volume was a painful disappointment. The chapter was a painful iteration of the old parables we have heard preached from the misty days of Grunwedel and Fergusson. What was new was a more resolute application of the trite principles of the impeccable Lange and the redoubtable Loewy, and to supplement the intuitions of the two pioneers with the faded rationalism of a later day. I should have thought that European scholars have already realised that the rules enunciated by the German scholars do not hold in India, and that any eighteenth century Nepalese Tara would as surely answer those requirements as the young maiden from Greece who has smirked serenely these last 3,000 years and who now stands prim and straight in her corner at a well-known museum.

But we shall fight with these weapons. Of the problems and difficulties of Indian Archæology we heard not a whisper. The conclusions marched with the inevitability of a fairy tale. And Sir John kept the temples of Greece, the palaces of Persia and Assyria, the ruins of Western Asia busy all the time—supplying details and motifs for the benefit of an unimaginative India. I confess I have always found it bewildering to follow these wild and capricious excursions into these mazes of uncertainty.

The net result, as known even to the merest tyro was Indians produced nothing, they had to borrow all from their more fortunate neighbours—their sole function in history was to reduce into the bizarre and the rococo.

The Greek stunt soon perished and Sir John has wisely made no attempt to resuscitate it. For Hellas had lost all her powers, when the story of Buddhist art purports to begin. Again—the technical development of India was far in advance of Greece—Greece, it will be remembered, had not learnt the secret of the delineation of three dimensional space nor of "Illusionism." And Asokan art begins with a display of both. Hence it became necessary to travel to Persia, then to Assyria and then to vicarious glories of Western Asia—to imagine an army of Æsthetes rushing into India and then displaying a charm and a cunning unsuspected in their native land. And Western Asia did produce, even though the main land was silent. And in that manner the irrepressible Graeculus Esuriens was allowed to conquer India.

Let us observe in what manner India has been made to pay tribute to the dim and distant West.

The prehistoric period is dismissed in a page. It is effaced and the author fails to trace any continuity in it. Even pottery becomes an absolutely lost art. *En passant*, the author does not forget to attribute various peculiarities of neoliths and the megaliths to the neighbouring countries. He forgets that the tradition continues till to-day.

From this epoch down to the reign of Asoka—the author imagines a *tabula rasa*, when India forgets all the arts it had learnt. The Indian lived in a hovel, which had sometimes a curvilinear roof. He worshipped gods, but could not transmute them into form; he decked himself with jewels, but they were crude, and were not wrought into cunning designs. In short, he was steeped in a degeneration, which almost surpasses our own.

Into this dull world comes the Persian artist, attracted by the mimetic Piyadasi. He leaves his eternal pots of stucco behind, and the dull and dead forms of leogryffs and endless rows of courtiers smirking inanely in their stiff beards. In India, he achieves what he had never even attempted in his native land. The author has displayed extraordinary subtlety in tracing resemblances—the most important of which is that they are both in stone.

In beginning the history with Asoka, one's memory plays strange tricks—we forget, for instance, that Indians could carry out gigantic schemes in stone like the Sudarsana lake and the minutest designs in intractable materials of varying consistency like the vessels in the Piprawa stupa. So that even before the illustrious Asoka mistook his imperialistic calling for an idiotically humanitarian mission, India had stone masons, who had the ability to cope with any material, who had a minute and delicate sense of Form, who had materials in abundance. And yet they remained idle until the inspiration came from Persia—a land, which had been sterile for two centuries. A conclusion which would bid any but an archæologist in India pause and reflect.

Then comes the difficulty of reconciling *dates* and the greater difficulty of reconciling styles. But our author gracefully brushes these aside with sweeping gesture and decisive accent. It is clear that the two Patna statues in the Indian Museum that of Nandivardhan and his son are Pre-Asokan, and have no alien bearings. Likewise the Parkham image. Then the band of Persians who came to glut Asoka's taste in æsthetics becomes apocryphal. I pointed out some time ago, that the figure of the Telin woman in the Indian Museum must have preceded the Patna monarchs by two centuries and the bull (hitherto designated Asokan) by another five centuries.

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Next comes the Bharhut obstacle with its hundred styles, which Sir John leaps over with amazing nimbleness. If the torana dates from the early Sunga period, then the rails must be very much earlier. Here we are confronted with various styles—all in a fully developed state and some almost swooning into preciosity. I should have thought that Bharhut was the grave of the archæologists. Persia is reluctant to assist, Assyria retires, Western Asia becomes too engrossed in its petty squabble, and Hellas takes upon herself the thankless task of instructing the Roman.

Bharhut too displays the unique phenomenon of a building in stone with a vault and a true arch. This is conveniently consigned to oblivion—for the obvious reason that it would be the grave of theories. Instead of these we hear once again the familiar strains of "the rounding of the contours of the silhouette," "the lack of anatomical accuracy," "the memory picture."

But of reliefs in which we see the unique phenomenon of the representation of a crowd, 9 deep, we hear not a word of comment. The remarkable composition, often flashing into brilliance, fails to elicit any comment, though that is regarded as a proper method even within the pale of the strictest orthodoxy. And lastly juxtaposition of the various different styles each in a finished and accomplished manner is not even accorded the honour of an explanation. Besides the portraiture of gods from the Hindu pantheon—correct in its minutest iconographic detail—jars harshly on the melody so bravely sung by our author. Authority is accorded the privilege of a hundred caprice and vagaries, but surely when the pronouncement is that they all (the sculpture of Bharhut) show the same aversion to depth, we almost suspect that there has been a blunder somewhere. Either that Sir John had no time to stroll round the Indian Museum at Calcutta or that his clerk had misplaced his Cunningham in the crisis of creation.

Bodh Gaya gains for itself rude justice—convinces Sir John of the continued presence of a troupe of performers from Western Asia, on whose shoulders rested the burdens of cultures Greek, Scythic, Persian and Mesopotamian.

The archæological eye has alighted on the winged centaur. Again Surya is seen driving a four-horse chariot. Surya must have driven straight from the Parthenon.

Sanchi gains an official smile on the ground of its vaunted superiority in æsthetic accomplishment. The gateways of the great stupa are the work of carpenters rather than masons—and naturally the process is from the height of excellence to the depth of degradation—the former being attained by the aforesaid troupes who imported the latest in fashions (Hellenistic) and the latter being naturally the lot of artisans who gradually lost the true Hellenistic flavour.

This is also proved from Pre-Asokan Mathura. The same mentality is observed in the treatment of the caves—but here the task was harder.

The creation of edifices from the living rock was a flight of imagination too daring for the Indian, and he had perforce to learn in that essential school of instruction—Persia. No attempt has been made to point out similarities in the caves of the two countries, and the author has discreetly forgotten to mention the obviously divergent course of development. The earliest are the Barabar hills which by a dispensation of Providence cannot precede the Piyadasi. It is curious to note here that the Karna Chanpar bears an arched roof without beams. The Lomas Rishi is likewise in the process of transition from wooden to lithic forms. It is to be observed Ter and Chezarla had the brazen impudence of raising their structural heads in the reign of Asoka—at a time when the craftsman had not quite abandoned his carpentry—though Sir John has not bestowed upon him the dignity of an honourable mention.

However he has wisely discarded the confusion that lurked in the sloping jambs. But we have been vainly awaiting an explanation of features—behind which there must have been centuries of experiment. The shape of the Chaitya for instance and its wonderful acoustic arrangements, the wonderful lighting which distributes and mellows the whole interior. In the viharas—the masterly device by which light is reflected from the wall to come and pay its eternal tribute to the piece de résistance, so that the central figure is bathed in subdued light. We cannot follow our author when he echoes Fergusson's theory of the wooden beams and rafters—which mark the first transition from the curvilinear hut of the peasant. We find it in Ellora *ex-hypothesi*, six centuries after. We may as well argu that the Draupadi's Rath at Mahabalipuram and the Moti Masjid at Delhi mark the first stony departure from the muddy hovel. At Orissa, too, there is a variety of forms, to explain away. The sculptured gods, from the Hindu pantheon—the Lakshmi and the Surya—do not fit into the ingenious picture of Buddhistic beginnings.

In conclusion—we stumble against the æsthetic valuation of the author. He brings to bear upon Indian archæology an outfit of 20 years ago. But Europe has moved with strange rapidity during that period. She lies prostrate before the Chinese wave, which has swept away the rags of mid-Victorian æsthetics. She has observed the remarkable phenomenon of Post-Impressionistic achievement. We dimly suspect that our author stands aghast at the panegyrics which have been rightly lavished on them. Matisse would stand arraigned and condemned at his bar.

Secondly—our author finds himself faced with the myriad schools of architecture, sculpture and painting—in a full state of development from the very beginning—a phenomenon which all the charlatans from Hellas, West Asia and Persia could not

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explain away. This will be seen with even greater clearness when he finds himself confronted with Gupta art—that reductio ad absurdum of Indian archæology, with the reproach of Mahabalipuram and the gorgeous graces of the South.

Thirdly—instead of persisting in blunder, in the attempt to trace all to Hellas—he should remember that the Los Von Rom movement has not yet extended far enough.

Fourthly—we find a sweeping contempt for tradition, a proneness to rush to conclusions when Hindu sites have not been excavated and Hindu depths have not been fathomed. Possibly the Hindu gods would not have it otherwise, possibly they prefer their stony slumbers in the depths and would disfavour disturbance. In conclusion, the essay is a remarkably clear and a remarkably good account of the theories that have hitherto held sway in the archæological world of India. For Sir John Marshall has brought to bear upon his subject all the resources of a wide range of reading and a profound scholarship.

ARUN SEN.

DIE CHINESISCHE STEINPLASTIK. BY ALFRED SALMONY. MUSEUM FUR OSTASIATISCHE KUNST, KOLN BAND I BERLIN 1922, VERLAG FUR KUNST WISSENSCHAFT 48 COLLOTYPE PLATES.

OF all the pupils of Prof. Strzygowski none have attained such distinction in the field of Far Eastern sculptures as Dr. Karl With and Dr. Alfred Salmony. And in the new post on the staff of the Museum of Far Eastern Art which Dr. Adolf Fischer, and after his lamented death, his distinguished wife have helped to grow, Dr. Salmony has been entrusted with the task of cataloguing the rich treasures of the museum for which his gifts and equipments have eminently qualified him. The Chinese stone sculptures studied in this catalogue are confined to the exhibits of this particular collection which will now be available to a larger circle of students in the nicely executed collotype reproductions. As compared with some of the specimens of T'ang sculpture which are now in the American collections e.g., those in the Pennsylvania Museum, Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Metropolitan the specimens illustrated in the volume before us would certainly appear very poor. But the series of dated votive tablets from the 3rd to the 7th century (Plates 32 to 45) in this collection are of great importance for the history of Buddhist art both artistic and iconographic. Unfortunately Dr. Salmony lays least stress on the iconographic materials and he chiefly insists on their plastic evolutions. Most of these series bear Chinese inscriptions, and we must say that the omission to include a transcription and a translation of the inscriptions which undoubtedly contain the formula of dedication (very important for the study of the evolution of Buddhist religious ideas) is a serious defect of this publication. For Mahayanist Buddhist worship has undergone various changes which are indicated in the dedicatory formulas on their votive images. Dr. Salmony begins his study with the Han period—but does not refer to the Wei period to which some of the pieces described in the volume must be assigned. Recently some very fine examples of the Northern Wei school have come to light, but Dr. Salmony does not attempt to relate his exhibits to other examples although his bibliographical notes to the published literatures are very full. His remarks on "The monuments of the Transition Period" (220 to 618 A.D.) are very significant and pregnant with suggestions which are not developed in the scrappy notes preceding the descriptions: "After the political confusion and artistic silence of two centuries the development of Chinese Art is not traceable again until about the year 400 A.D. At this period Buddhism takes a hold of the East, and lets loose powers which, it is true, had been grounded from the beginning, but had not yet been borne by a religious church. Almost all the pictorial works of the transition period are Buddhist, and therefore subject to the cult models which had arisen in Indian territory. Even the language of forms is not always exclusively Chinese. In the earliest group, in the rock caves of Yun-Kang, Indian elements only gradually dissolve in the development of Eastern Asiatic sculptures." Of the monuments of the T'ang period our author's remarks are worth quoting. "Under the rules of the house of the T'ang, Chinese sculpture was able to soar from the heart of the life of the Empire to distant natural boundaries and far beyond. At the same time the current of plastic art broadened. The collection of known monuments gives no adequate idea of the wealth and facility of creative art in this golden age of the East, nor of the manifold and incredibly advanced forms. The variety of style at that period and the abundance of artistic feeling seems a riddle to later criticism, because it is only with difficulty that we can trace the fine transition. The political and economic extension of China, a result of her world-importance, undoubtedly brought foreign material within her vision. This import was everywhere taken up with that natural inquisitiveness which is felt regarding curiosities. The presentation of such particulars (racial types, national costumes, fruits, ornaments, form designs) is carried out with Chinese means. Only with the Indian Gupta art is the T'ang plastic art connected by an inner relationship." The example illustrated on Plate XXX, dated 167 A.D., is a piece bristling with many significance, though not actually representing a Buddhist subject—it is in the very spirit and form of early Buddhist sculpture. The central figure seated in characteristic Indian fashion closely follows the formula of the picture of the Buddha

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with two accompanying figures which answer to Kasypa and Ananda. Dr. Salmony has very profound remarks to offer on this relief: "The thematic part of the Indian doctrine must naturally still appear as completely taken over. The means of presentation, on the other hand, scarcely depart from the Han tradition. The linear division of the figure and garments by parallel lines corresponds in all its crudity to the pre-Buddhistic relief. Only the head breaks through this flatness. What is new and valuable about this stone is not in its artistic qualities. In the Buddhist work of China, a person is for the first time made the bearer of religious idea; he is no longer a part, but becomes the central point of the presentation, a thought which Chavannes formulated comprehensively: "It seems to be an especial characteristic of Buddhism that it was able to assign a moral value to the human countenance." Next to the series of portraits of the Arhats, which stand on a higher level than the terra cotta figures of the same subjects in the British and the Metropolitan Museums, the two heads on Plates 58 and 59 deserve special notice. Two very interesting reliefs on the plinth of figure 51 offer a style very summary and economic in its expression. "The solution of the motifs of the movements and of the sitting posture by means of incisions cannot be rivalled in simplicity and suggestive force." We are unable however to relate this style to the Indian Gupta art as suggested by the author. The author's remarks on the 'significance,' 'form' and 'contents' are quoted at length on pages 83-85. We are grateful to the author for publishing one of the most interesting collections of Chinese sculptures in Europe.

KATALOG DER AUSSTELLUNG OSTASIATISCHE KUNST IN OSTERREICHI SCHEN MUSEUM FUR KUNST UND IDUSTRIE APRI-JUNE, 1922 HERANSGEBN VON DR. E. ERNST DIEZ UND DR. MELANIE STIASSNY RIKOLA VERLAG. WEIN, 1922, 24 PLATES.

THE interest of European connoisseurs in the plastic art of the Far East continues unabated. And no better evidence of the zeal of European collectors can be cited than this unique exhibition of Far Eastern Art (China and Japan) contributed by Austrian collectors of Chinese and Japanese antiques put together in the Far Eastern Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna in April 1922 under an able committee consisting of such eminent Orientalists as Dr. Strzygowski, Dr. Dietz, Dr. Schwartz. The exhibits have been liberally contributed by State museums as well as by private collectors and the best that Austria could offer in the field of Far Eastern plastics must be taken to have been put forward in the Exhibition. To judge from the illustrations in the well produced catalogue, the only record of the Exhibition, some very fine pieces and one or two unique specimens made the Exhibition a success. T'ang pottery, though not represented at its best, was well supported by specimens Nos. 27, 21, 31 and 19. Of the minor masterpieces of the Sung period the four examples on Plates VII are excellent examples, the stone mask being a fine specimen. Chinese Painting is not very ably represented to judge from the specimens reproduced which belong to the Ming and later epochs. But the dearth in this section is more than compensated by magnificent stone Bodhidharma No. 123, and the virile piece of T'ang portrait of a priest (No. 53) which undoubtedly offered the pieces-de-resistance of the show. The introduction to the catalogue is from the pen of Dr. Ernst Diez and Dr. Melanie Stiassny. The illustrations are very effectively set off on blue mounts. It is somewhat misleading to characterize as Chinese the typical Tibetan Buddha dated 1672, No. 176. It is Chino-Tibetan rather than Chinese.

BOKHARA TURKOMAN AND AFGHAN RUG BY HARTLEY CLARK WITH 17 PLATES IN COLOUR 8 MONOTONE PLATES AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS IN BLACK AND WHITE. JOHN LANE, 1922. QUARTO, PP. 130. PRICE £1 11 6.

THERE is something pathetic in the reflection that it is invariably the discarded god from the East which becomes a museum cult in the West. The object of utility where it has ceased to be of daily use creep into a museum cabinet as an objet d'art. This is a truism which applies with peculiar significance to Oriental rugs. They have been fashionable in Europe within the last fifty years and an enormous amount of trade in the East developed recently for meeting the Western demands of Eastern carpets. No doubt appreciation of the beauty of Oriental rugs in Europe is as old as the 16th century and goes back also to the time of Holbien and a particular kind of Asia Minor rugs came to be known as "Holbien Rugs" since they occur in paintings by Holbien and other artists of his time. But the craze for Eastern rugs, particularly in America, certainly dates from a time when the masters of the handicraft had ceased to produce works of fine art for their own people, and since the enormous trade demand has increased, their quality has degenerated to pathetic depths. It is unfortunate that Western appreciation of a craft which must be regarded as major form of Eastern Art has almost synchronised with the death of a form of expression which goes back many centuries previous to the Christian era. Nevertheless the Western appreciation of this interesting phase of Eastern culture has been genuine, and during recent years widely cultivated by connoisseurs and collectors who have some regard to them as "Fine Arts." The problem as to how such an humble utility craft could have come to be ranked as fine art is being cleverly tackled by a group of scholars who have helped to build up quite a library of literature devoted to the study of "Oriental Rugs." Of recent

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literature Bode's "Antique Rugs from the Near East" (Reifstahl's translation) and Heinrich Jacoby "Eine Sammlung Orientalische Teppiche" (Berlin 1923) and the current articles from the pen of Pope in the "International Studio" are the most important. The latest English contribution to the subject by an officer of the Indian Army has some quite new features. It does not pretend to be a learned treatise but a pleasant guide to the amateur collector. Indeed the story of the author's education into the mysteries of rug-collecting with its romances and adventures given in the Preface is a very interesting portion of the book. It will certainly help the amateur collector to get through (with less discomfiture and disaster) pitfalls of the dubious paths which a new collector must tread from his beginner's deal up to his mature and expert captures. But the best feature of Mr. Clark's book lies in the specialisation that it offers in a branch of a very big subject, the geographical limits of which nearly cover half the continent of Asia—from the China Sea to the Mediterranean. Indeed it was lucky that the author realised in the very early stage of his initiation the necessity of confining himself to some particular group of Oriental Rugs. "Not to do so meant an almost limitless field, an ocean in which the millionaire might draw, a veritable Sahara of which no main can exhaust the exploration." The book deals exclusively with Bokhara, Turkoman and Afghan Rugs which generally find their way to the Indian cities, and there are large numbers of collectors who specialise in the products of this particular variety to whom the work will offer a very useful introduction. Our author introduces two specimens of Southern Persian Rugs of exquisite quality—by way of comparison and contrast to the types of Turkoman Rugs which are the subject of his collection and study. A glance at the colour plates will give one an impression that these types of Rugs are chiefly characterised by the preponderating red colour, sometimes interspersed with white, blue and black of different shades, and the absence of the other colours (the yellow sometimes occur in a Bokhara Rug) invests these pieces with an austere dignity—almost amounting to a spirituality which is the very mirror of the psychology of the races of these nomadic tribes whose womenfolk produced such veritable "Rembrandts" in wool. As the author justly points out "these rugs make a somewhat different appeal from the masterpieces of Persia which excel in delicacy and elegance of design, in artistic blending of colours and in softness of tones. The Turkoman fabrics reflect the wild savagery and withal the simplicity of the warlike tribes who make them. *Blood red is their staple colour,* just as bloodshed is or was, an almost monotonous routine in the lives of these nomads." Another feature of these textiles which the author rightly draws attention to is their local uses. "Their rugs used to be woven exclusively by the women and girls, never for sale, but as furniture for their tent dwellings, as gifts to their chiefs or as a dowry for the girl to take with her on her marriage—what wonder, then, that they made them with patient care, of a texture to withstand the hardest wear, and of colours and designs that were an expression of their feelings and a cheer to their homes." The rugs that the author has chosen for his study are grouped under six ethnographic sections (any geographical classification for such nomad tribes being absolutely misleading): "Salor, Saryk, Tekke, Yomut, Ersari and Afghan Turkoman. Excellent representative pieces of each group are reproduced in colour and also black and white and furnish very valuable materials for the collectors and amateurs. To processes and technique of weaving and materials the author adds a very instructive chapter in which he classifies and analyses the prevailing designs which occur in the various specimens of Turkoman Rugs. These are illustrated by a series of 43 diagrams. In fig. 4, called by the somewhat misleading name of "Cone" or "Pear" one will easily recognise the Indian "Kalki" pattern—so frequent in Kashmir shawls. The author tries to connect it with symbols of Zoroastrian faith. The Indian legend derives it from the foot-print of Parvati, the consort of Shiva. The only criticism we have to offer is that the author has not furnished any materials or guide for judging the age or antiquity of particular specimens, for it is notorious that the most modern products now turned out in thousands are palmed off by dealers as antique specimens many hundred years old. Of nomad Turkomans very few have survived which are more than 200 years old. And the only "points" by which a genuine antique piece can be identified is by the beautiful soft tones and the wonderful shine which the passage of time and exposure to weather impart to these nomads' masterpieces. The work undoubtedly breaks new ground particularly in the form of its specialised study, and we have little hesitation in endorsing the author's claim that this volume is an advance on any previous publication of its kind in the English language.

NOTES.

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DR. GOETZ ON RAJPUT PAINTING.—The publication of Dr. Coomaraswamy's volumes on Rajput Painting (Oxford 1916) synchronised so closely with the great War, that it did not receive the attention it deserved from critics on the Continent although his preliminary studies were published before the War, one in London (Burlington Magazine) and another in Berlin (Ostasiastische Zeitschrift). With the exception of the criticism of the late Raphael Petrucci—(Burlington

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Magazine 1916) Dr. Coomaraswamy's studies and the claims that he has put forward had missed the criticism of continental savants. We are glad to find that German scholars are now beginning to critically examine the conclusions that Dr. Coomaraswamy has put forward in his first comprehensive presentation of what is undoubtedly an unique phase of Hindu Painting. Dr. Hermann Goetz has recently published an article in the "Ostasiastiche Zeitschrift" an essay entitled "Studies in Rajput Painting," of which we publish, elsewhere, an English translation, by the courtesy of the author and Dr. William Cohn. In this essay Dr. Goetz has sought to challenge the chronology of some of the specimens of Rajput Painting illustrated in Dr Coomaraswamy's volumes. After a somewhat desultory dissertation in which he seeks to establish the close relationship of the Rajput Princes to the Mogul Court, the author proceeds to prove that the Rajput Princes could not keep aloof from the current of general culture around the Mogul Court. We are also prepared to concede to the author his generalisation that Aurangzeb's time was precisely one of those periods in Indian history in which Hindu and Musulman culture have been most united. A synthesis of Hindu and Mogul culture of which Akbar has sown the seeds achieved its highest development by the time of the close of Shah Jahan's reign. It may be useful to remember, however, that in the first place the culture of the Mogul Court did not influence the vernacular folk-culture which all along remained Hindu in its body and inspiration; in the second place, Rajput Art, though flourishing in the states of Rajput Princes, was not a patronage art kept alive by the support of Rajput Princes, but lived or flourished on the staple foundation of widely spread and highly organised religious ideas which grew out of the soil of Hindusthan, independent of any courtly or princely support from the Rajput chiefs. The Rajput princes shared with the common people, their beliefs in the religious ideas, Shaivaite or Vaishnavite—which are the real inspirators of Rajput Art. Bearing this in mind we can follow Dr. Goetz in his research into the chronology of Mogul costumes. The typical Moghul costume, developed during the later part of Akbar's reign—was an adoption of the current Indian dress. It consisted of the typical *pagree* (head-gear) made up of a thin plaited cloth which bulged towards the back and was kept in position by a broader band generally of a different material. This typical turban appears in the homely sketch of Akbar (Binyon "Court Painters to the Grand Moguls,' plate X, plate XXV, plate XXX; also Kuhnel: "Miniatur malerei" plate CXXIV its original Indian model figuring in Kuhnel, plate CXXIII). That it was adopted by Akbar is evident from the fact that it does not figure in any of the known schools of Persian Painting. In the many extant portraits of Humayun—it is persistently absent. Humayun is always represented as wearing a pointed cap partially covered by a light fabric (compare the well-known portrait of Akbar's Court-painter Bhagavati, who must have been familiar with Akbar's Indian turban and deliberately avoided this in Humayun's portrait which is based on earlier models, vide Binyon, plate V). In the interesting group portraits of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan in the South Kensington Museum from Kashmir (Binyon, plate XIII), this distinction is carefully kept up in the head-gears of Akbar and Humayun who face each other. That Akbar used another type of turban, probably in the early years of his reign, is illustrated in his portrait in plate XVII, Kuhnel's "Miniatur malerei." The Indian turban adopted later in all Court ceremonials and by all courtiers was not always affected by the orthodox Musulman divines. In the very interesting picture of Dancing Dervishes all the Musulmans (with one exception) wear beards and the Persian type of turbans with the projecting cap—while all the Hindus, distinguished by the absence of beards and marked by their "scorpion locks" over the ears, wear the native type of turban adopted later by Akbar (Vide Binyon: plate XVIII). That this was current in India previous to the reign of Akbar is apparent from the 16th century illustrations of Amir Hamzah of the Humayun school (see Stanley Clark, "Indian Drawings" 1921, plates V & IX). The other typical Mogul costume consisted of the muslin tunic (sometimes brocaded silk) known as the "Takauchiyah." As Dr. Goetz points out "this garment had already been previously universally worm in India." The third element is the waistband or "komarbund" which also figures in the pictures of the Humayun school and could not have been an innovation first introduced by Abkar. If we take now the representations of the male figures of the Râgmâlâ series of Rajput paintings of the Jaipur school—executed in "primitive manners" and colour schemes (Rajput Painting, plates I to III)—there is nothing which can induce us to ascribe the style of dress to any period later than the reign of Akbar. A priori, there is nothing in the chronology of this style of dress which could not have existed before the reign of Akbar. It is in fact the current costume of Rajasthan in the 16th or possibly the 15th century. The style might have continued as late as the 18th century—indeed it has descended with slight variations through the 18th and 19th centuries and the same turban is now used, with a little change, by many classes of Rajput and also by modern Marwari merchants. We are unable to follow how Dr. Goetz comes to conclude that the turbans of the men in the Râgmâlâ pictures (which Dr. Coomaraswamy dates at the middle of the 16th century) "show forms which can only belong to the period between the last years of Aurangzeb's reign and the beginning of Muhamud Shah's reign." Whether they belong to Jaipur or Orcha cannot affect their date. According to our arguments the leaves of "Rasika-

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priya" of Kesavadas belong to the time of Akbar according to date of the author and of the style of the pictures which attach to the Mogul technique of shading and modelling and avoid a pure linear presentation. The type of the turban does not affect the question. Take for instance the picture of the Return of Hari to Gokula Town (Vidyapati, "Vangiya Padâvali," p. 151). The so-called Akbar turban does not affect in any way the purely Hindu feeling in the presentation and does not take it anywhere near the Mogul style either in conception or presentation. The style of the women's dress does not affect the chronology of Dr. Coomaraswamy. According to Dr. Goetz, the Mogul princesses gradually adopted the Hindu fashions. We confess we are unable to follow the author in his conclusion that Rajput Painting was no independent product, but that it arose under the influence of the Mogul Court. The Mogul miniatures and the Rajput pictures are so diametrically opposite not only in their temper, their technique and their general inspiration, that none but the most untrained critic could confuse the two. That they have been so long confused with Mogul painting is due to a prejudice and a lack of æsthetic understanding and a biased attitude towards works of Indian art. In his second article published in "Ueber Land und Meer," our author seems to abandon the position that he has taken up in the article referred to and falls a prey to the fascination of the spiritual contents of Rajput Art which offers such significant contrast to the "emptiness" of the elegant court scenes and character portraits of the Mogul school.

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DR. WILLIAM COHN ON SIR JOHN MARSHALL'S ESTIMATE OF INDIAN ART.—We have published elsewhere in this number a review of the Chapter on Indian Art in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I (Ancient India). It will be interesting to compare what an eminent German critic, Dr. William Cohn, Editor of the 'Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," has to say on Sir John Marshall's essay, in the course of a review of the same chapter in the German Quarterly, Vol. 1|4, April 1922 Marz 1923, p. 176. "In the final chapter, Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology in India, devotes forty pages to an investigation of the works of art of India down to the beginning of the first century A. D., this being the latest date-limit of this First Volume. As the theme of this section certainly comes into the scope of the 'O. Z.,' we may give more attention to it. Over and above this, we here have an account written by the man who, by virtue of his office, is the only person in the world who really has a comprehensive survey of the material of Indian monuments in its entire and endless abundance. Sir John Marshall approaches the world of Indian art with understanding and affection, and is far removed from the type with which we are familiar among the old school of Indologists. However, it seems to us that he has not yet freed himself sufficiently from the standpoint which regards Europe as a centre, and in general from the over-valuation of foreign influences to the detriment of the recognition of the nature of Indian art. Thus we see again and again criticism of style being made solely on the side of perspective and anatomical mastery over reality, which was not a definitely emphasized goal of Indian art, and the author goes particularly far whenever he is able to determine, or even when he thinks he can trace, any relationship with or similarity to the art of Persia or that of Seleukidic Hellenism. In spite of his treating the non-Indian elements in Indian art too broadly in this small scope, and in spite of his neglect of the purely Indian elements in it, Sir Marshall comes to the conclusion that we can find 'nothing really mimetic, nothing which degrades it to the rank of a servile school' (page 644), and about Hellenistic influences in particular, he says that 'Hellenistic art never took a real and lasting hold upon India, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were radically dissimilar' (page 649). It is to be hoped that these clear statements will at length remove all the false opinions which have arisen from older, widely circulated publications. The author takes up a definite stand against them, too, when he deals with the alleged 'retrogressive' development of India art (*cf.* Grünwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, page 2.) 'In reality, as we shall presently see, its history is one of continuous forward progress' (page 618). Coming to details, he has again brought us a host of evidence and corroborations. Some relics of Indian art can possibly be dated back to the Vedic period. The author attempts, on the grounds of comparison of style and inscriptions, to date the most ancient monuments, down to their exact decades, a procedure which is surprising, in view of the usual reticence of the author. The sculptures of Bharhut are placed in the middle of the 2nd, those of Buddh Gaya about the beginning of the 1st, and those of Sanchi in the last half of the 1st century before Christ. The few early monuments of India have, so far, received the most frequent and the most careful attention. It is with great expectancy that we shall greet the publication of the next volumes, in which the author intends to make a survey of the huge mass of material of the history of art in India of the middle ages—a subject which is to so great a degree still unknown. There are 68 reproductions on 23 plates, in the art section. Unfortunately they are not always satisfactory."

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TWO MOGUL DRAWINGS.

The rarity of genuine old Mogul drawings which are now ardently sought after by collectors invests with peculiar interest the two examples reproduced on the opposite page from the collection

Rasikápria About 1600

Return of Hari Vidyapati.

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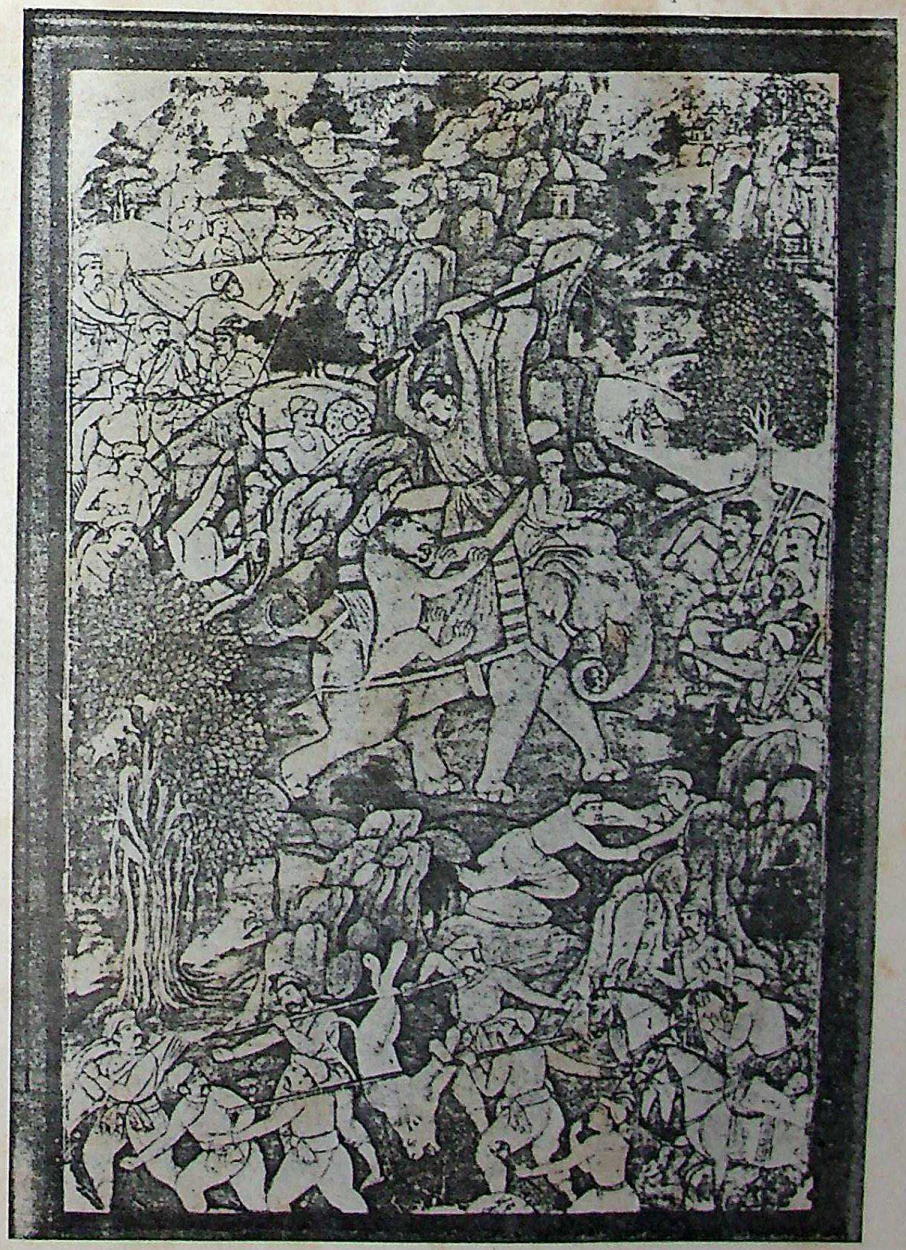
A. Hunting Scene (Moghul School.)

By the Courtesy of
MESSRS. LUZAC & CO.



B. Jahangir Hunting (Moghul School.)

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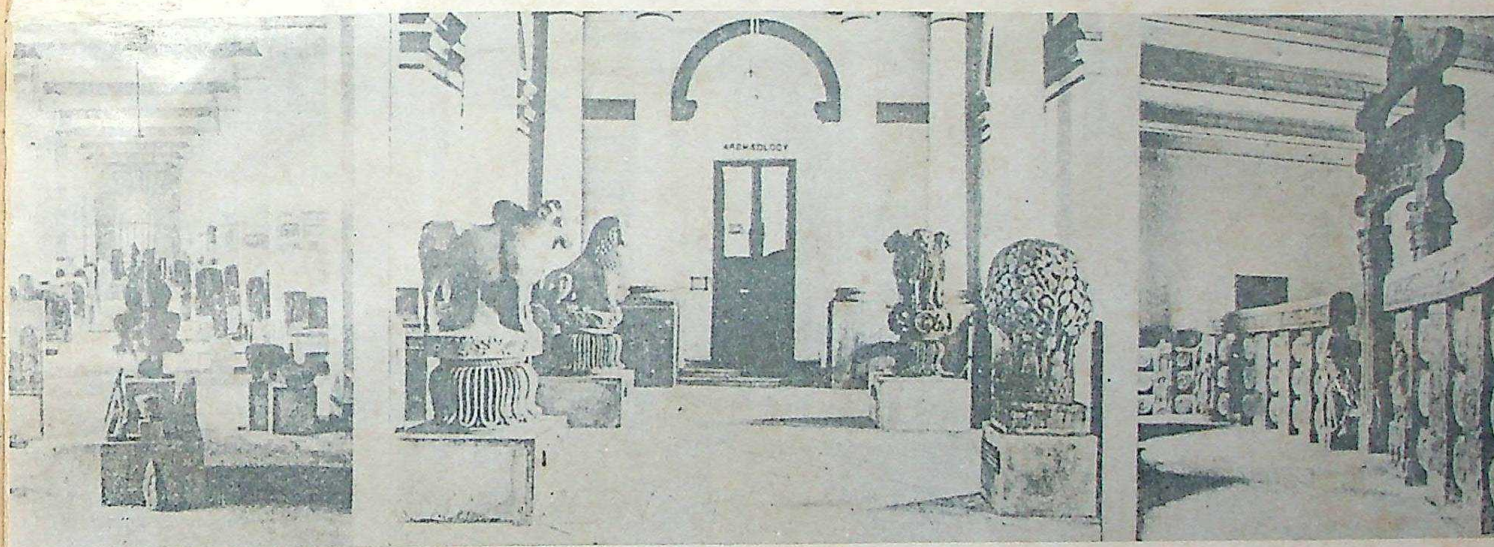
of Messrs. Luzac & Co. One is the picture of 'Jahangir hunting lions' and may be a contemporary picture. It has all the characteristic of the early Mogul school—with its meticulous details—its conventional perspective and its peculiar treatment of trees. The banyan trees interspersed in the rocky landscape are very interesting features of the picture. The chief centre of attraction is no doubt the daring exploit of Jahangir who is trying to save himself from the lion which has mounted up the elephant. The scene is one of considerable animation contributed by the various groups of the royal retinue and seems to be more than a mere conventional representation of Mogul hunting scenes, examples of which are numerous in the various collections of Mogul pictures. The picture appears to bear the signature of the artist, Muhammad Musquin,—a name which seems to be a new one as it is not found in the lists of the known painters of the Mogul period. Evidently he belonged to the reign of Jahangir. The second picture also from the same collection is one of the exploits of Akbar who is seen riding on his elephant leading his cavalry in a battle. It may have been one of the series of Akbarnamah pictures of which various versions are known to have existed. It is superior in some respects to the companion picture of Jahangir, particularly in its organised composition and the general dignity of treatment.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.—The 'museum movement' as a factor in educational ideas has yet to develop in India, and the present attitude of a section of the public towards higher education is not likely to foster the favourable conditions necessary for its growth. Those who have any slight acquaintance with the works of the Museums in the United States are aware of the valuable services the movements have rendered in America in the cause of popular education in the appreciation of the plastic arts. They have helped to demonstrate in what way the resources of a museum can be made the instrument of stimulating the mind with an ever-growing vision of what is fine and lasting and which incarnate the best thoughts of humanity in a variety of forms. The first step that the curators of the American museum took to marshall their resources was to ensure an effective display by choosing their exhibits instead of displaying all of them at the same time. An overcrowded and indiscriminative display produces a dullness and a weariness on the visitors with which we are all familiar. And the American museums were the first to introduce innovations in this respect. The Indian museum in Calcutta with all its valuable exhibits had suffered all this time from this 'weariness' due to overcrowding. And the credit of rearranging the exhibits on a very sound and scientific classification belongs to the enthusiastic Superintendent of the Archæological section, Mr. R. P. Chanda. The improved arrangements of the galleries have undoubtedly set off the exhibits to great advantage and now helps to concentrate attention on the outstanding pieces. By the courtesy of Mr. Chanda we are able to reproduce here a few photographs giving the views



Archæological section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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of the re-arranged galleries. We hope other Indian museums will be able to follow the example which Mr. Chanda has been able to set. He deserves the congratulations of the public interested in the history of Indian Art.

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A MODERN MARBLE PANEL.—By the courtesy of Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., of Etah, we are able to reproduce a name plate for a street or rather a locality. It is intended for a locality called Lakshmiganj, the 'Lakshmi-market' in that district. It is a bas-relief in marble with the motif of the goddess of Fortune rising from the water. The inlaid design of a pair of plants in flower in black stone rather spoils the effects of the design, which certainly would have been enhanced by omitting such cheap ornaments. The design for it was supplied by the Bharat Kala Parishad and was executed by the Agra Marble Works. The Lakshmi is a very old motif in Indian Art, but the designer has chosen to follow the model of Ravi Varma. We would have liked the artist to have devised some new forms and to have given us an original conception of an old subject. The task of the modern artist is to assimilate all that has gone before him and to originate new forms to incarnate his new conceptions. In this example our artist has abjured, perhaps rightly, well-trodden paths, but has forgotten to devise a path of his own.

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RUPAM

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Rupam, once a celebrated quarterly journal dedicated to interpret Oriental art, ceased after the fourty-fourth issue. However, the present work is a long-awaited venture to transform those valuable but scattered pearls into one complete set.

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